

M E M O I R S  
O F T H E  
C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z.

C O N T A I N I N G,  
T H E P A R T I C U L A R S O F H I S O W N L I F E,

W I T H T H E  
M O S T S E C R E T T R A N S A C T I O N S  
O F T H E  
F R E N C H C O U R T A N D T H E C I V I L W A R S.

T R A N S L A T E D F R O M T H E F R E N C H.

V O L. II.

The best Memoirs that I know of, are those of Cardinal de Retz.

—I hardly know any Book so necessary for a young Man to read and remember; you will there find how great Business is really carried on, very differently from what People who have never been concerned in it imagine. In short you will, in every Page of that Book, see that strange inconsistent Creature, Man, just as he is.

Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.

D U B L I N:

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M. E. M. O. I. R. S.  
OF THE  
CARDINAL DE RETZ.

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
MOST SECRET TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
FRENCH COURT AND THE CIVIL WAR.



# M E M O I R S

O F T H E

## C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z.

### B O O K I I I.

**A**FTER the peace, Cardinal Mazarin employed his whole thoughts, in finding out fences (if I may use that expression) against the obligations laid upon him by the Prince of Condé, who, literally, had rescued him from the gallows. One of his first views, was to contract an alliance with the house of Vendôme, which on two or three occasions had shewn itself opposed to the interests of that of Condé. He applied himself, by the same motive, to bring over to him the Abbot de la Riviere, and was even so imprudent as not to hide from the Prince of Condé, the hopes he gave la Riviere of the Cardinal's hat designed for the Prince of Conti.

Some of the Canons of Liege having at that time a view of electing the Prince of Conti for their bishop, the Cardinal, who affected to shew la Riviere the desire he had to bring that Prince into a disgust for his profession, opposed it, under pretence that it was not the interest of France to fall out with the house of Bavaria, whose pretensions upon that bishoprick were natural, and had been openly declared.

I pass by many other circumstances which convinced the Prince of Condé of the Cardinal's mistrustful temper and ingratitude. The Prince was too young yet, and too fiery, to think of lessening the Cardinal's diffidence, which he rather increased, by his protecting Chavigny, who was a bugbear to Mazarin, and for whom the Prince asked and obtained leave to return to Paris; by the care he took of all that concerned Mr. de Bouillon, who since the peace had

stuck very close to him ; and by the regard he likewise shewed for la Riviere, which he made no secret of. But *those that have the royal authority in their hands ought not to be played with. Whatever their defects are, their person can never be so low as not to deserve either to be regarded or to be destroyed. It is therefore a fault in their enemies if they come to despise them, because there is none but this sort of men in the world to whom contempt does not belong in some cases.*

This distemper of mind in the Prince was the cause of his not hastening, as he used to do, to take upon him, this campaign, the command of the army. The Spaniards had taken St. Venant and Ipres, and Cardinal Mazarin formed the design of taking Cambray. The Prince of Condé, who did not judge the thing practicable, declined the meddling with it. He left that undertaking to the Count d'Harcourt, who miscarried in it ; and the Prince took his way towards Burgundy, at the same time that the King was advancing to Compiègne, in order to push on vigorously the siege of Cambray.

That journey of the Prince's, though undertaken with the King's leave, was an eye-sore to the Cardinal, who therefore caused some indirect proposals to be made to him for their closing together again. Mr. de Bouillon has told me that he knew that Arnaud, who had been colonel of the Carabineers and who was much attached to the Prince, had undertaken that work. Whether or no Mr. de Bouillon was rightly informed, is what I cannot tell, neither do I know better what these proposals ended in. What appeared to me was, that Mezerolles, whom the prince employed in his negotiations, came to Compiègne about that time, and had there some private conferences with the Cardinal, to whom he declared in his master's name, that if the queen parted with the superintendancy of the seas, which she had taken to herself after the death of the Marechal de Brezé, his brother-in-law, he expected that it should be given to him, and not (as the report went) to Mr. de Vendôme. Madam de Bouillon, who pretended to have it from very good hands, told me that the Cardinal was much surprized to hear this ; and had made but a blind answer to it : but, said the lady, he will be forced to explain himself when we have him at Paris. I took notice of that word, and begged that she would explain it to me. She told me that the Prince of Condé was to make but a short stay in Burgundy, and that at his coming back his design was to oblige the court to return to Paris,



Paris, where they expected to find the Cardinal more supple than any where else. That saying of hers had like, as you shall see, to have cost me my \* life; but before I mention that, let me take some notice of what they were doing at Paris.

Licentiousness was become so great there, that it was out of our power to prevent even that which did us hurt, and that is the worst inconveniency that attends faction. For licentiousness which does not agree with faction, seldom fails to be fatal to it, because it discredits it. It was our interest not to stifle the libels and lampoons made against the Cardinal; but it was no less our interest, to suppress those that attacked the queen † and the state. The trouble which we were put to, upon that account, occasioned by the heat people were in, is not to be imagined. The chamber of Tournelle gave sentence of death against two wretches || for publishing two pamphlets for which they deserved that fate. As they were mounting the ladder, they bawled out that they were brought to the gallows, for selling ballads against Mazarin: the mob rescued them from publick justice. I mention this circumstance to let you see what trouble those are brought to, who never fail to be charged with every thing that is acted against law. And which is still worse, it is in fortune's power five or six times in a day, to mar and spoil, by accidents, more common in these occasions than in any other, the best and wisest results of good sense. I here present you with an example.

Jerzay J., who was at that time very much attached to the Cardinal took a fancy to accustom, as he said, the Parisians to his name, and he thought that he might succeed in it, by appearing in all the lustre he could, in company with all the other young courtiers of the same kidney, at the Tuilleries, which was the place that every body had chose to take their

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walks

\* It put him upon venturing to go to Compiègne, where the court was, and where he had like to have been killed.

† Those libels against the queen were numerous, and she was fallen into such contempt that she went by no other name, with the common people, than that of mistress Anne.

|| One of them was a printer named Marlot. See Joly's memoirs, vol. 1. p. 58.

‡ The Marquis de, the same who wrote some time after a love-letter to the Queen Regent.



walks in, every evening. Messieurs de Candale \* de Bouville, † de Souvré, and de St. Mesgrin, suffered themselves to be drawn into this foolish attempt, which at first succeeded. We took no notice of it, and as we were conscious of our own power, we even thought that it became us to live civilly with persons of quality, to whom we owed some regard, though they were of a contrary party. They took advantage of it, and bragged at St. Germain's, that the Frondeurs durst not take the upper hand of them at the Tuilleries. They affected to make great suppers upon the terrass of Renard's ‡ garden, to have fiddlers with them, and to drink there publicly the Cardinal's health. This extravagancy of theirs embarrassed me. I knew on the one hand, that it is dangerous to suffer our enemies to do in sight of the people, what ought to be resented by us, because the people will fancy that they have the power to do, what they are suffered to do. On the other hand I saw no other way to prevent it but by violence, which I thought unhandsome against them, because we were much the strongest, and which I looked upon as unwise, because it would have exposed us to private quarrels, whereby Mazarin would have been glad at heart to put the change upon us. I thought upon an expedient, which was this. I got together at my house messieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Brissac, de Retz, de Vitri, and de Fontarilles. Before I discovered any thing to them, I made them promise upon oath, to follow exactly my directions in an affair which I had to propose. I shewed them the inconveniencies of suffering tamely, what passed at the Tuilleries; but at the same time, I represented to them, with all the force I could, the inconveniency of engaging in private quarrels. We agreed that that very evening, Mr. de Beaufort accompanied by those that were at my house, and by five or six score other gentlemen, should meet at Renard's at the time that the others were sat down to supper: and after a compliment paid to Mr. de Candale and his company, that he

\* *Lewis de Nogaret, duke de Candale, son to the duke d'Epemon.*

† *Afterwards duke of Luxemburgh, and Marechal of France, who died in 1695.*

‡ *This Renard who had been Valet de Chambre to the Bishop de Beauvais, used, during his master's favour, to present every day a nosegay to the queen, who loved flowers, by which means he obtained from her the grant of part of the royal garden of the Tuilleries.*

he should tell Jerzay that were it not out of regard to them, they would throw him over the rampart walls, to teach him how to brag another time. I added, that after the fiddlers were parted from the company, and were got so far out of the way, that those whom we had no mind to offend could not interest themselves in it, it would not be amiss to have some of their fiddles broke. The worst that could be foreseen in doing this, was what related to Jerzay, and that could have no ill consequence, because of his birth, which was not reputed good. They all promised to accept of no challenge from him, that it might thereby look like a meer party business. But this resolution \* was very ill executed. Mr. de Beaufort, instead of keeping close to his promise, gave a loose to his passion. He pulled the table-cloth to him, and threw down the table. Poor Vineville, who found himself there by chance, and who was not of the set, had his head covered with a dish of soup, which was likewise the fate of poor de Jars, commander of Malta. The fiddlers had their fiddles broke upon their heads. Menil, who was with Mr. de Beaufort, gave Jerzay three or four thrusts with his sword. Mr. de Candale and Mr. de Bouteville (now Mr. de Luxembourg) drew theirs, and had it not been for Caumefnil, who covered them with his person, they had run some risk among the crowd of men whose swords were all drawn.

I was cruelly grieved at this adventure, which afforded the court-party the satisfaction of throwing the blame of it upon me, among the publick. But that lasted not long, because the attention I shewed, to prevent its ill consequences, was a sufficient proof of my intentions, and because *there are times when some persons are ever in the right*. Mazarin, by a contrary reason, was ever thought in the wrong. We failed not to set off, as we ought, the raising of the siege of Cambray; the good reception made to Servien, as a reward for his breaking the peace at Munster; the report of Emery's being again to be made superintendant of the finances, which was noised abroad the moment that the Marechal de la Meilleraie had quitted that post, and which soon after proved true. In short, we found ourselves in a condition to expect with safety, and even with dignity, what the chapter of accidents might produce, in which we began to perceive some signs of a very ill disposition in the Prince of Condé for the Cardinal, and in the Cardinal for that Prince.

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It

\* By Joly's account of this matter, it is plain that he was not let into it.

It was at that time that Madam de Bouillon discovered to me the resolution which that Prince had taken, to oblige the King to come back to Paris, which Mr. de Bouillon having confirmed to me, I resolved to gain myself the credit of it, his Majesty's return being much wished for by the people. With that intent, I caused a report to be spread at court, as if the Frondeurs feared that return, and I hearkened to the negotiations which Mazarin never failed to hazard weekly by several channels, that I might thereby take off from him any suspicion of art used on our side. I did all I could to oblige Mr. de Beaufort to act in that matter in his own name, because I believed that Mazarin would think it easier to cheat him than me. But Mr. de Beaufort finding that such a negotiation would engage him to go to Compiègne where the court was, he was advised by la Boulaie, whom he consulted, not to enter into it, la Boulaie either thinking that journey too dangerous for the Duke, or being unwilling to let him take a step so contrary to the hopes which Madam de Montbazon, to whom la Boulaie was devoted, gave daily to the court, of the Duke's accommodation. This confidence of Mr. de Beaufort's in la Boulaie troubled me, because being persuaded that no trust could be put either in him or in Madam de Montbazon, I looked upon my pretended negotiation with the court, not only as useless, but even as dangerous. And yet it was necessary to go on with it, for you may easily judge what harm the leaving the honour of the King's return to the Cardinal, or to the Prince of Condé, had done our party, because that had confirmed what they had said all along, that we opposed it. The President de Bellievre told me upon this, that Mr. de Beaufort having been wanting to me, in discovering a secret that might ruin me, had thereby given me a right of hiding from him a thing of which he was himself to reap the benefit; that the good of the whole party depended on it; that Mr. de Beaufort's safety being included in it, there was a necessity of deceiving him. He added, that if I left it to him, he gave me his word, that before it was night he would mend whatever M. de Beaufort had done amiss by his want of secrecy. He thereupon took me along with him in his coach to Madam de Montbazon's, where Mr. de Beaufort spent all his evenings. He arrived there presently after, and Mr. de Bellievre acted in a manner, that he really mended what was done amiss. He made them believe that he had convinced me of the necessity there was, to think in good earnest of an accommodation, and that we ought not in prudence to stay till the King returned to Paris, before



before we began at least to enter into some negotiation, which could not be done but by Mr. de Beaufort or me. Madam de Montbazon, who hearkened with pleasure to this overture, and who thought that the danger of the journey to Compeigne was over, since we seemed resolved to negotiate in good earnest, began herself to say that it would be better for Mr. de Beaufort to go thither in person. The President de Bellievre alledged a great many reasons, which he did not understand himself, to dissuade her from it, and I then made this observation, *That nothing serves better to persuade persons of little sense than what they do not understand.* So it was resolved that I should go alone to Compeigne, where, as the President de Bellievre seemed to insinuate very artfully, it might even be necessary for me to condescend to have an interview with the Cardinal. Madam de Montbazon, who kept correspondence with all the world by the several agents that she had every where, assumed the honour of this project at court, by the means of the Marechal d'Albrét,\* as I have since heard. What induces me to believe it is, that Servien began anew, at that time, his negotiations with me in a very pressing manner. I acted at a venture in this occasion, as if I had been sure that Madam de Montbazon had sent notice of it to the court. I entered into no positive engagement with Servien to see the Cardinal at Compeigne, because I was fully resolved not to do it; but I spoke however in a manner that gave him to understand, that I might do it, because I discovered plainly, that if the Cardinal had not been in hopes that my visiting him would discredit me with the people, he had never consented to a journey that might occasion a belief among them that I had had a hand in the King's return. I judged by Servien's countenance rather than his words, that the Cardinal's inclination was not so much opposed to that return, as it was believed at Paris, and even at court. I need not tell you that I took care to hide from Servien, what I intended to say to the Queen about that return. Servien went to Compeigne with the greatest joy, to acquaint the court with my coming thither, whilst my friends were opposing my going in a very pressing manner, because they thought that I should run there a great risk: But I silenced them by saying, that *whatever is necessary ought not to be reckoned hazardous.* I went to Liancourt that night, where the master and mistress of the house tried all they could to prevent

\* *Cesar-Phebus of the house of Albrét, by a bastard branch, Count de Mioffens, and Marechal of France.*

## MEMOIRS OF THE

prevent my going further ; but I arrived however the next morning at Compeigne, at the time of the Queen's levée.

As I was mounting the stairs, a little man in black, whom I never saw either before or since, slipped a note into my hand, wherein these words were written in great characters : *If you go up to the King you are a dead man.* I was too far gone to go back, and when once I found that I had passed the guard-room without being killed, I looked upon myself as safe. I told the Queen that I came to pay her my most humble respects, and to assure her of my loyalty, and of the disposition in which the church of Paris was, to do their Majesties all the service which they were bound to. I insinuated in the speech I made, all that might serve as a ground for me to say, that I had insisted much upon the King's return to Paris. The Queen expressed a great deal of kindness to me, and seemed very well pleased at what I had said ; but when she came to what related to the Cardinal, and saw that notwithstanding all the instances she made for my seeing him, I still answered her that such a visit \* would render me quite useless to her service, she could no longer contain herself, but began to redden ; and as she has confessed since, it was with much difficulty that she abstained from saying something rude to me.

Servien was one day telling the Mareschal de Clerambaut, that whilst I was at dinner at his house during my stay at Compeigne, the Abbot Fouquet † proposed to have me assassinated there ; and he added, that he came home very opportunely to prevent that misfortune. Mr. de Vendôme, who came thither as we were rising from table, pressed me to be gone, saying that there were mischievous designs hatching against me. But had it been otherwise, Mr. de Vendôme had said it nevertheless, for there never was such an impostor as he.

I came back to Paris, after I had done all that I wished for. I had taken off the suspicion that the Frondeurs opposed the King's return to Paris. I had laid upon the Cardinal all the hatred of the delay. I had braved him upon his throne, and I had gained the chief honour of the King's return. The next day after my coming back, a pamphlet came out that set off these several advantages. The President  
de

\* And yet Joly says that he saw the Cardinal, and had a conference with him that lasted three or four hours.

† Basil Fouquet, Abbot de Bargeau, brother to the superintendant of the finances.

## C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z.

de Bellievre represented to Madam de Montbazon, that I was forced by particular circumstances to alter my resolution of visiting the Cardinal. I persuaded Mr. de Beaufort of it without any difficulty, and the sooner, because I found him pleased with the success that my refusing to see the Cardinal had among the people. The Marechal d'Hocquincourt, who was our friend, did something that very day out of a bravado to the Cardinal, the particulars of which I do not remember; but we did not fail to set it off with a thousand different colours. In short, we visibly found that we had provision in store for a long while still, lodged in the people's imagination, which is all in all in affairs of this nature.

The Prince of Condé coming to Compiègne for the second time, the court took or declared their resolution of returning to Paris. His Majesty was received there in the same manner in which our Kings ever were and ever will be, that is, with acclamations that signify nothing, but only with those that love to flatter themselves. An inconsiderable attorney of the Châtelet hired twelve or fifteen women, who cried, *Long live his Eminence*, as the Cardinal who was in the King's coach entered the suburbs, upon which he thought himself master of Paris. But he perceived his mistake in three or four days time. Pamphlets against him were published as formerly: Marigni went on with his ballads with still a greater spirit, and the Frondeurs appeared more elevated than ever. Mr. de Beaufort and I had sometimes, as we rode along, but one single page behind our coaches; at other times we had fifty liveries and a hundred gentlemen that followed us. We varied the scene, as we thought it would please the spectators. Those that followed the court, at the same time that they were continually blaming us, aped us as well as they could. There was not one of them but took advantage over the minister, of the rubs we gave him (that was the President de Bellievre's expression) and the Prince of Condé, who still in relation to him did either too much or too little, continued to use him with all the contempt possible. The Cardinal, who knew that that Prince was dissatisfied for having been refused the post of Superintendant of the seas, which his brother-in-law had had, was still seeking out how to sweeten him by proposing to him equivalents, which however he had been glad to have given him only the hopes of. He proposed that the King should buy for him the earldom of Montbeliard, a sovereign state pretty considerable; and he charged Hervart with the carrying on that business with the proprietor, who was a younger brother of the



house of Wirtemberg. It was said even at that time, that Hervart himself had given the Prince of Condé notice, that he was privately charged to let that negotiation miscarry. What is certain, is, that the Prince was not well pleased with the Cardinal, and that since his coming back to Paris, he not only continued to cherish Chavigny his capital enemy, but that he even affected a much civiler usage towards the Frondeurs. He expressed a much greater friendship for me than he had done when the peace was first made; and he shewed a greater regard than formerly for the Prince of Conti, and the Dutcheis de Longueville. I think it was about this time that he put into the Prince of Conti's hands the actual government of Champaign, of which he had hitherto only the title. He fastened to him the Abbot de la Riviere, by suffering the Prince of Conti his brother, to whom he pretended that he might procure the Cardinal's hat merely by his recommending him to leave the Abbot his nomination, for which the Chevalier d'Elbene was dispatched to Rome. All these steps were far from lessening the Cardinal's mistrust, which was besides much increased by the attachment that Mr. de Bouillon, whom he knew to be discontented, had for the Prince of Condé, and which was still the more heightened by his believing that the Prince favoured the commotion made at Bourdeaux. That city, finding itself oppressed by the tyrannical government of Mr. d'Epemon, a gentleman of a violent spirit, had taken up arms by the authority of their parliament, and under the command of Cambray, and afterwards of Sauvebeuf. That parliament had dispatched Guionnet, a Counsellor of their body, to the parliament of Paris. Guionnet was day and night at the Duke de Beaufort's, to whom all that appeared great appeared good. It was not my fault that I did not prevent all the shew this made, which could be of no service, but might on the contrary be hurtful.

The Prince spoke to me with some anger of those conferences of Guionnet with Mr. de Beaufort, which shews that he was very far from fomenting the commotions in Guienne. The Cardinal however believed it, because the Prince inclined to an accommodation, and thought it unfit that a province so considerable as Guienne was, should suffer, to please Mr. d'Epemon's humour. One of Cardinal Mazarin's greatest faults was, that he could never believe that any body spoke to him with intentions that were sincere.

The Prince of Condé having resolved to reunite his whole family to him, thought that he could not fully satisfy the  
Duke

Duke de Longueville, till he had obliged the Cardinal to keep the promise made to that Duke at the signing the peace at Ruel, which was to put the Pont-de-l'Arche into his hands. That place added to the old palace at Rouën, to Caën, and to Dieppe, suited pretty well with a Governor of Normandy. But the Cardinal refused it him with obstinacy. The Prince finding him one day at the Queen's circle, haughtier than ordinary, said to him as he came out of the Queen's closet: "Adieu, Mars." This happened at eleven at night, and the whole town, as well as I, heard of it a quarter of an hour after. As I was going the next day, by seven in the morning, to the Hotel de Vendôme, to find out Mr. de Beaufort, I met him upon the Pont-neuf, in Mr. de Nemours's coach, who was carrying him to his Lady, who was Mr. de Beaufort's sister, and whom he loved tenderly. Mr. de Nemours was still of the Queen's party, and knowing of what had passed the night before, and of the noise it had made, he took it into his head to persuade Mr. de Beaufort to declare for her on this occasion. Mr. de Beaufort was altogether disposed to it, and so much the more, because Madam de Monthazon had been till two in the morning preaching to him upon the same tune. Knowing him as I did, I ought not to have been surprized at the shortness of his views, yet I could not forbear being so. I represented to him that nothing could be more contrary to good sense; that by offering ourselves to the Prince we run no manner of risk, but that by offering ourselves to the Queen we run the greatest; that the moment that we had taken that step, the Prince would come to an accommodation with Mazarin, who would receive him with open arms, as well from the regard due to him, as from the advantage which he would find in letting the people know, that he owed his safety to the Frondeurs, which would discredit us with the public. That by offering ourselves to the Prince, the worst that could happen to us was to remain in the state we were in, with this difference, that we should acquire a new merit in relation to the publick, by our making a new effort to ruin their enemy. These reasons carried it with Mr. de Beaufort. We went that same afternoon to the Hôtel-de-Longueville, where we met the Prince in the Dutchess his sister's chamber. We made an offer to him of our services, and were received as you may well imagine. We supped with him at Frudhomme's, where Mazarin's panegyric was adorned with all manner of rhetorical figures.

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The next day in the morning the Prince did me the honour to come to see me, and continued to speak to me in the same manner he had done the day before. He even received with pleasure the verses that Marigni presented him with, as he was going down stairs. He wrote to me about eleven at night, ordering me to be with him with Noirmoutier the next morning at four. We wakened him as we were ordered to do. He seemed to be, at first, pretty much perplexed. He told us that he could not resolve upon beginning a civil war; that the Queen's attachment for the Cardinal was such, that nothing but that could part her from him; that it was against his conscience and his honour to make use of that means, and that the steps of the Duke of Guise\* were ill becoming one of his birth; he added, that he would ever remember what he owed us; that at the same time that he made his accommodation with the court, he would likewise make ours, if we liked it; but if we were of another mind, he would however protect us openly, if the court should attack us. We answered him, that in offering him our services we had had no other view, but the honour of serving him; that we should be extremely sorry, if out of regard for us, he had delayed for a moment his accommodation with the Queen; that we begged of him that he would give us leave to remain in the state we were in with the Cardinal, and that that would not hinder us from keeping always within the terms of respect and of service, which we had vowed to his Highness.

None of the articles of that accommodation of the Prince with the Cardinal were ever made publick, except only such as he was pleased to suffer to be divulged. All that appeared of it was the putting the Pont-de-l'Arche into the hands of Mr. de Longueville.

Publick affairs did not take up my time so much as to prevent my being obliged to look after private ones, which gave me a great deal of trouble. Madam de Guimené, who had left Paris out of fright the first day it was besieged, came back out of anger at the first hearing of my visits at the Hôtel de Chevreuse. I was mad enough to seize her by the throat for her abandoning me so basely, and she mad enough to throw a candlestick at my head, for want of fidelity to her in relation to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. A quarter of an hour after all this clutter, we came to an agreement;

\* Surnamed the *Balafré*. See the note relating to him in the first volume.



agreement; and the next day I did, for her service, what I am going to relate.

Five or six days after the Prince of Condé's accommodation, he sent the President Viole to tell me that he was railed at in Paris, as a man that had failed in his promise to the Frondeurs; that he could not believe that these reports came from me, but that he knew that Mr. de Beaufort and Madam de Montbazon had a great hand in them, to which he desired I would put a stop. I immediately went along with Viole to the Prince, whom I assured that I had ever spoke of him with the respect I owed him. I said what I could to excuse Mr. de Beaufort and Madam de Montbazon, though I was not ignorant that this last had uttered but too many foolish things. I insinuated to him, that he ought not to look upon it as strange, that in a town so much enraged against Mazarin as Paris was, they had complained of his accommodation with him, which sat the Cardinal for the second time upon the throne. The Prince took the matter right; he conceived that the people had no need of being stirred up to express their heat in this occurrence. He explained his reasons to me for his not pushing matters further; he seemed satisfied with what I alledged in justification of my conduct; he assured me of his friendship; I assured him of my services, and the conversation ended in a manner kind enough to give me room to think, that he looked upon me as his humble servant; and that he would not take it ill that I meddled with an affair that had happened just the day before.

The Prince had engaged, at the request of Meille, a younger brother of the house of Foix, who was much attached to him, to have a stool \* at court granted to the Countess of Foix; and the Cardinal, who was much averse to it, stirred up all the young noblemen at court to oppose all manner of stools that were not grounded upon a special warrant. The Prince, who saw of a sudden a kind of assembly of the nobility, at the head of which the Marechal de l'Hopital had even put himself, was unwilling to draw upon him the publick animosity for concerns pretty indifferent to him; and he thought that he should do enough for the House of Foix, in suppressing all the stools of other privileged houses. The House of Rohan was the first in that number, and you may judge how distasteful a check of this nature

\* The right of sitting on a stool at the Queen's circle belongs only to Dutcheffes.

ture was to the Ladies of that House. The news of it was brought to them the very evening the Princess of Guimené came back from Anjou. The Dutchesse de Chevreuse, de Rohan, and de Montbazon, met the next day at her house. They would all have it that the affront designed them was but a revenge on the Fronde. We resolved upon a counter-assembly of nobility for the maintaining the stool to the House of Rohan. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had been well enough pleased if it had gone against it, that the House of Lorrain\* might thereby have been distinguished from it; but the regard she had for her mother, was the cause that she durst not oppose the common advice. The difficulty was, the trying to bring the Prince of Condé to alter his resolution, before we appeared publickly to be against it. I took that task upon me, and went about it to him that evening, under colour of the relation I had with the House of Guimené. The Prince understood me at half a word, and said: 'You are a good kinsman, and 'tis just that you should be satisfied. I promise you not to oppose the privilege of the stool in the House of Rohan.'

I went from the Prince directly to the Hôtel de Guimené, where I found the whole company assembled. I begged of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse to retire into another room, and I made a report of my embassy to the Ladies, who were not a little pleased with it. 'Tis so rare for a negotiation to end in this manner, that a relation of this has not seemed to me unworthy of these memoirs.

The complaisance which the Prince of Condé shewed for me on this occasion displeased the Cardinal, who had besides every day some new cause of discontent given him. The old Duke de Chaunes, † Governor of Auvergne, Lord Lieutenant of Picardy, and Governor of Amiens, died about that time. The Cardinal, who had been well enough pleased to have the Citadel of Amiens, in his own hands, would fain have had the Vidame, ‡ who had the reversion of that government, resign it to him, in exchange for that of Auvergne. The Vidame, who was eldest brother to that

Mr.

\* The Duke de Chevreuse, her father, was of the House of Lorrain.

† Honoré d'Albert, Duke de Chaunes, brother to the Comte de Luynes.

‡ An ancient dignity given to those who represented Bishops as Temporal Lords, and who took care of their temporal concerns.

M<sup>r</sup>. de Chaunes whom you see at this day, grew angry at this; he wrote a letter in very high terms to the Cardinal, and attached himself to the Prince of Condé. The Duke de Nemours did the like, because they were in suspense about giving him the government of Auvergne. Mioffans, who is at this time Marechal d'Albret, and who was then at the head of the King's Gens d'Armes, used himself, and used others to threaten the minister; who increased the publick hatred against him by his re-establishing Emery, who was odious to the whole kingdom. That re-establishment caused us some trouble, because that man, who knew Paris better than the Cardinal, dispersed money there, and did it even much to the purpose. The art of dispersing money among the people is a thing of a peculiar nature, and which being well managed is as useful in gaining their affection, as it is otherwise when it is ill managed. It is of the nature of those things that are naturally very good or very bad.

This dispersing of money, which he carried on discreetly, and without a noise, obliged us to think of incorporating ourselves with the people, if I may use that expression, with a greater application than before, and finding an opportunity of doing it, which in itself was favourable, we did not miss it. If my advice however had been followed, we had staid longer, because we were not in haste, and *'tis unwise in a party, where one is only on the defensive, to do what one is not pressed to.* But the uneasiness of the subalterns is what is most inconvenient on those occasions: They think that all's lost, the moment one ceases to act. I was every day preaching to them, that we ought to move on slowly, and that the meeting with rocks was dangerous; that patience worked greater effects than activity; but nobody hearkened to that truth. The impression that a sorry saying of the Princess de Guimené made on that occasion is incredible. She remembered a ballad that was formerly made upon the regiment of one Brulon, which was said to be composed of only two dragoons and four Drummers. And hating the Fronde for more than one reason, she told me one day at her house, in a bantering manner, that we were but fourteen of us left in our party, which she afterwards compared to that regiment. Noirmontier, who was lively, but giddy-headed, and Laigues, who was of a heavy but of a presumptuous nature, were moved at this banter to such a degree, that from morning till night they were murmuring that I did not either bring matters to an accommodation, or that I did not push them on to

the



the last extremity. So I was forced to enter into action whether I would or no, though before the time was fit for it, because in factions the chiefs remain the masters no longer than they are able either to prevent or appease murmurings. Not but by good fortune I met with a matter that had rectified that imprudence, if those that had committed it had not carried it beyond all measure.

The rents upon the town-house of Paris are chiefly the patrimony of all those that have but a small fortune. It is true there are some rich houses that share in them, but it is still truer that providence seems to have rather designed them to the poorer than the richer sort. If this were well understood, and well managed, it might prove very advantageous to the King's service, because it would be a means of so much the greater efficacy, as its effects would not be perceived, in fastening to his Majesty's interest an infinite number of mean families, which are the most to be feared in revolutions. The licentiousness of the times has invaded more than once that sacred fund.

Cardinal Mazarin's ignorance made him keep within no bounds during his being in power. No sooner was the peace made, but he began to break through whatever fences had been provided by arrests of parliament, and by the King's declarations in relation to the town-house rents. The officers of the town-house being dependants of the minister, contributed to it by their prevarications. The annuitants were alarmed at it, and assembled together in great numbers. The vacation-chamber gave out an arrest whereby they forbade these assemblies, and the parliament meeting again at the St. Martin's of the year 1649, the grand-chamber confirmed that arrest, which in itself was legal, because assemblies made without the Prince's authority are never lawful; but which however authorized the evil, by preventing its being remedied.

What obliged the grand-chamber to give this second arrest, was, that notwithstanding that which the chamber of vacations had given out, the annuitants had again assembled to the number of above three thousand, all citizens wearing \* black cloaths, and had made choice of twelve syndicks, † to watch, as they said, over the prevarications of the Provost des Marchands. The nomination of these syndicks was suggested

\* A mark of their being of the better sort of citizens.

† Persons chosen and empowered by a body of people, to act for their common good.

suggested to those citizens by five or six persons who had it is true some interests in the rents, but whom I had sent among them as soon as I had seen their assembly formed, to be as directors to the rest. I did, in that, a great piece of service to the state; for if that assembly had been left to itself, and had wanted the directors whom I sent to them, a great sedition had infallibly happened. But great order was observed, and the annuitants preserved all due respect for four or five counsellors of the parliament that appeared at their head, and who condescended to accept of the office of Syndick. \* That order was preserved the more willingly and the more gladly, when they were told by those counsellors that Mr. de Beaufort and I took them under our protection. They sent us a solemn deputation, which step being observed by the first president, put him in a passion, and occasioned the second arrest, which I have spoke of. The Syndicks maintained that their authority could be annulled only by the parliament assembled in a body, and not by the grand-chamber alone. They made their complaints to the chambers of inquest, who were of the same opinion, after they had debated upon it among themselves; and they went afterwards to the first president, accompanied by a great number of annuitants.

The court, who thought it necessary to show its authority on this occasion, sent some city † guards to seize upon Parrain des Coutures, who was captain of his ward, and one of the twelve Syndicks. The guards missed him, because he was not at home. The annuitants met the next day in great numbers at the town-house, where they resolved to present a petition to the parliament, to demand justice for the violence intended against one of their Syndicks.

Hitherto our affairs had gone as well as we could have wished; we had engaged ourselves in the best and most just cause in the world; we were upon the point of closing and knitting again with the parliament, which was for assembling the chambers, and thereby for confirming all that we had done. But the devil entered into the head of our Subalterns. They fancied that this would not take, if it was not seasoned with something of a higher reli<sup>g</sup> than what the forms of judicature would give it. These were the very words used by Montresor, who in an assembly of the Fronde held at the president de Bellievre's, proposed the firing a pistol at one of the

\* There were twelve Syndicks chosen, of which number Joly was one.

† What are called in French, archers.

the Syndicks, to oblige the parliament to assemble, because, added he, the first president will not otherwise grant an assembly of the chambers, which is absolutely necessary to us for our reuniting with the parliament, at a juncture that will make us be looked upon jointly with that body, as the defenders of the widow and of the orphan, when without the parliament we shall be reckoned only as seditious persons, and as tribunes of the people. For that purpose, continued he, a pistol must be fired in the street at one of the Syndicks, not enough known to the people to cause a great commotion, but only such a one as may be sufficient to occasion an assembly of the chambers which is so necessary to us.

I opposed this proposal with all the vigour I could. I represented to them that we should have an assembly of the chambers without an expedient so very strange, and accompanied with so many inconveniencies. The president de Bellievre laughed at my scruple, calling it silly. He desired that I would remember what I formerly writ in the life of Cæsar, which was : *That in publick affairs morality is of a larger extent than in private ones.* I desired him in my turn, to remember what I had writ at the end of that same life : *that it is always judicious not to use that liberty but with an extream caution, because nothing but success can justify it ; and who can be answerable for the success ?* They would not hearken to what I said ; though it looked as if God had inspired me with these words, as you will find by the event. It was resolved that a gentleman \* that belonged to Noirmoutier should fire a pistol into Joly's coach, (that same Joly whom you have seen since belonging to me, and who was one of the Syndicks ; ) that Joly should make himself a scratch to make people believe he was wounded ; that he should keep his bed upon it, and send a petition about it to the parliament. This resolution put me to such trouble † that I could not sleep all night ; and the president de Bellievre coming to me the next morning, I could not forbear expressing my grief, by repeating to him two verses of Corneille ‡, the sense of which was : that I thanked the Gods that I was not born a Roman, and that I preserved still some sentiments of humanity.

The

\* Named d'Etainville,

† Joly, in the account he gives of this matter, says not a word of the coadjutor's disapproving of it and opposing it.

‡ *Je rends graces aux dieux de n'être point Romain,  
Pour conserver encor quelque chose d'humain.*

See the tragedy of Horace, written by Corneille.



The Marechal de la Mothe had a like aversion to mine for this project, which was at last executed upon the 11th of December, and accompanied with the most cruel of all accidents. The Marquis de la Boulaye, either prompted to it by his own folly, or acting in concert with the Cardinal, seeing the commotion caused at the place Maubert by the firing of this pistol, and hearing the complaint of the president Char-ton, one of the Syndicks, who fancied that they had mistaken Joly for him, came in like a man possessed, during the time that the parliament was sitting, to the middle of the palace-hall, followed by fifteen or twenty rascals, the best of whom was a poor wretch of a cobbler. He cried aloud to arms, and omitted nothing to make the people take them in the neighbouring streets; he went to old Broussel, who reprimanded him after his own way; he came likewise to my house, where I threatened to have him thrown out of the window.

What made me believe that he acted in concert with the Cardinal, is this. He was attached to Mr. de Beaufort who treated him as a relation; but he kept the closer to him by reason of Madam de Montbazon, on whom he was an absolute dependant. I had discovered that that wretch held secret conferences with Madam d'Epινelle, a concubine in ordinary of Ondedey's, and an avowed spy of Mazarin's. I had therefore obliged Mr. de Beaufort to swear upon the gospel never to discover any thing to him of what related to me. Laigues has told me that the Cardinal when he lay a dying recommended him to the King as a man that always served him with fidelity: and you must observe that that same man had always professed himself a Frondeur.

I come back to Joly's affair. The Parliament being assembled ordered that informations should be made about the firing the pistol at him. The queen finding that la Boulaye had not succeeded in his attempt of raising a sedition, came on the Saturday, as her custom was, to mass at Nôtre Dame. At her return to the palais-royal the Provost des Marchands went to assure her of the city's loyalty. They affected to publish at court that the Frondeurs had attempted to raise the people, but had failed in that undertaking; but all this was but a trifle compared to what happened that evening. La Boulaye set a kind of corps-de-guard of seven or eight horse in the place-dauphine, whilst he was himself, as I have been assured since, at a courtesan's in the neighbourhood. There happened I do not know what sort of a quarrel between those horse, and the citizens set to watch the streets, and news was brought to the palais-royal that there was a  
commotion

commotion there. Servien was ordered to send and learn what the matter was, and it is said he increased very much in his report the number of people that was there. It was even observed that he had a pretty long conference with the Cardinal in the Queen's little gray chamber; and that it was not till after this conference that he came all in a heat to acquaint the Prince of Condé that there certainly was some enterprize against his person. The prince would have gone himself to know the truth of the matter, but the Queen would not suffer it; and it was resolved to send only the Prince's coach with some other coaches that usually followed him, to see whether it would be attacked. When they came to the pont-neuf they found there a great many persons in arms, because upon the first rumour the citizens had taken up arms, but nothing happened. There was, it is true, a footman wounded by a pistol-shot behind Duras's coach; but it could not be found out how that came to pass. If it be true, as it was said at that time, that two horse-men fired their pistols, after having looked into the Prince of Condé's coach, where they found no body; it is likely that it was but a trick, and a sequel of what la Boulaye had begun in the morning. A butcher, a man of great probity, told me a week after, and has repeated it to me twenty times since, that there was not a word of truth in the report spread about those two horse-men; that those posted there by la Boulaye were gone when the coaches came along, and that the firing of the pistols happened only between some citizens that were drunk, and some butchers that were coming back from Poissi, and that were likewise far from sober. That butcher, whose name was le Roux, and who was father to the Carthusian Monk whom you have heard mentioned, added that he was of the company.

Servien's artifice served to unite the more the prince of Condé to the Cardinal, that Prince thinking himself obliged to fall upon the Frondeurs, who, he believed, had had a design to assassinate him. All those that belonged to him thought that they could not express their zeal in a manner strong enough, except by magnifying the danger which he had run, and the court flatterers were very eager in jumbling together what had happened in the mornings, and what happened at night. This served as a canvass whereon was embroidered all that the basest compliance, the blackest imposture, the most foolish credulity, could ever invent; and the next morning we found ourselves awakened by the report spread about the city

city that we had formed the design to seize upon the King's person, to secure him in the town-house, and to massacre the Prince of Condé; in order to which the Spanish army was advancing to the Frontiers in concert with us. That evening the court put Madam de Montbazon into a most terrible Fright, upon account of her being a patroness to la Boulaye. The Marechal d'Albret, who pretended to be beloved by that lady, was the messenger of whatsoever the Cardinal was pleased that she should be acquainted with. Vigneuil, on the other hand, who was really beloved by her, persuaded her of whatsoever the prince of Condé would have her believe. Her fright was such that she shewed Mr. de Beaufort hell gates opened against us. That gentleman came to awake me at five the next morning, acquainting me that we were undone, and had but one way left to save ourselves, which was for him to throw himself into Peronne, where Hocquincourt would receive him, and for me to retire to Mezieres, where I had Buffi Lamet at my disposal. I thought at first that he had done some foolish thing with la Boulaye; but after he had sworn a thousand oaths that he was as innocent as myself, I told him that the way which he proposed was pernicious; that it would make us appear guilty in the eyes of all the world; that the only way which we had left, was to wrap ourselves up in our innocence, to keep a good countenance, to undertake nothing except in case we were directly attacked, and to consider upon what we were to do when occasion should require. He entered into my reasons: we went out about eight to shew ourselves to the people, and to see with our own eyes what countenance the people themselves held, because we had had notice sent us from several quarters that they were in a great consternation. We found that report to be really true, and had the court attacked us at that instant, I am in doubt whether they had not succeeded. I received thirty billets about noon that made me believe that that was their design, and thirty others that made me fear that it was in their power to have done it with success.

Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Brissac, de Noirmoutier, de Laigues, de Fiesques, de Fontrailles, and de Matha, came to dine with me. There was a great contest among us in the afternoon, most of the company being for our putting ourselves in a posture of defence, that is, for confessing ourselves guilty, even before we were accused. My advice carried it, which was, that Mr. de Beaufort should ride along the streets with a page only behind his coach, and that I should do the like; that we should both go, but not together,



together, to the Prince of Condé's, and there tell him that we were altogether persuaded that he did not do us the injustice to confound us in the reports that were spread.

I could not find the Prince at home in the afternoon, and Mr. de Beaufort having missed of him likewise, we met about six at Madam de Montbazon's, who by all means would have us take post-horses and make our escape. We had thereupon a contest, which opened a scene very full of ridicule, though it was upon so tragical a subject, Madam de Montbazon affirming, that considering the part which Mr. de Beaufort and I acted, nothing was more easy than to make away with us, since we put ourselves into our enemy's hands. I answered, that it was true that we ventured our lives, but that by acting otherwise, we should lose our honour. At these words she rose from off the bed where she was lain down, and carrying me towards the chimney, she said to me : If you would speak the truth, you would own that something else keeps you here, and that you cannot part with your nymphs. But let us take the simpleton \* along with us, for I believe you care but little now for the other. † I was used to her manners, and so I was not surprized at what she said ; but I could not help being so, when I saw her in the mind of retiring to Peronne, and in so great a fright that she hardly knew what she said. I found that her two lovers had indeed frightened her more than they themselves designed. I tried to hearten her, and upon her expressing some mistrust as if I was not her friend, by reason of my union with Madam and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse as well as with Madam de Guimené, I said to her all that my union with Mr. de Beaufort could require of me in this conjuncture. To that she replied hastily ; I will have people be my friends for my own sake ; do not you think I deserve it ? upon that I made her a panegyrick, and falling from one discourse into another, (for we talked a long while together) she fell upon the mighty exploits that we should have done, if it had happened that we had been joined together ; to which she added, that she could not imagine how I could spend my time with an old woman more mischievous than the devil, and with a young thing yet sillier in proportion. You and I dispute all day long for the management of that simpleton, (continued she, pointing to Mr. de Beaufort who was playing at chess) we take a deal of pains, and we do but spoil our affairs : let us agree together,

1089 *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. † The Princess de Guimené.*

## CARDINAL DE RETZ.

‘ together, and let us go to Peronne. You may dispose of  
‘ Mezieres : the Cardinal will the next day send some of his  
‘ negotiators to us.’

Do not be surprized that she spoke in this manner of Mr. de Beaufort ; these were the words she commonly used ; and she told all those that would hear it, that the poor gentleman was impotent. The truth, or what comes very near it, is, that he never so much as asked to touch her little finger. He was in love with her soul only. It is certain that he appeared to me in an agony when she eat flesh upon a Friday, and that happened frequently. I was used to the lady’s sayings, but not to her caresses, at which I found myself moved, though I had reason to suspect ’em, considering the conjuncture. She was very handsome ; my natural disposition did not lead me to let slip such an opportunity, so I was very sweet upon her, and had not my eyes pulled out. I proposed to her to go into the closet, but she proposed as a previous thing to all the rest, our going to Perronne, \* and so ended our amours. We joined the company, and new contests arose about the manner which we were to behave ourselves in. The president de Bellievre, whom Madam de Montbazon sent to advise with, answered, that our only way was to take the most respectful steps, in relation to the Prince ; and if that failed, that our innocence and courage ought to keep us up.

Mr. de Beaufort left us to go to the Prince, whom he found at table. He made his compliment to him in a respectful manner. The Prince, who seemed surprized at his coming, asked him to sit down to supper, which he did. He spoke all the while without appearing troubled in the least ; and he came off with a boldness † which was not carried too far. I do not know what happened from that time to the next morning ; but what I know, is, that the Prince, who had not appeared angry

\* According to Joly’s account, the duke de Beaufort and the coadjutor were upon the point of retiring into Peronne, from which resolution they were, as he pretends, diverted by the Count de Montresor.

† The French says, avec une audace qui ne déborda pas ; and as it is an expression a little out of the way, I was inclined to think that there might be a mistake in the French copy, and that there should have been, avec une audace qui ne se démentit pas : In English, with a boldness which he kept up to the last. But I have however thought fit, both in this place, and in all others that are difficult, to keep as close as possible to the French, except where the mistakes are visible.

angry in the evening, seemed very much exasperated against us the day after.

I went that day to wait on him with Noirmoutier; and though all the court was there to compliment him upon his pretended assassination, and though they were all introduced one after another into his closet, the chevalier de la Riviere, a gentleman of his chamber, left me in the room I was in, saying that he had no order to let me into the closet. Noirmoutier who was pretty fiery, grew impatient, whilst I affected to shew my patience. I stayed in the room for three whole hours, and was one of the last that came away. But not satisfied with this advance, I went to Madam de Longueville, where I met but with a cold reception. I went afterwards to wait upon the duke her husband, who was newly arrived at Paris. I desired him to speak favourably for me to the Prince; and being as he was very well convinced that all that passed was but a trap laid by the court against his highness, he expressed to me an extreme trouble about it. But as he was naturally weak, and but newly pieced with him, he spoke to me only in general terms, and contrary to his custom would enter into no particulars.

All this passed the 11th and 12th of December, 1649. The 13th the duke of Orleans together with the Prince of Condé, and with messieurs de Bouillon, de Vendôme, de St. Simon, d'Elbeuf, and de Mercœur, came to the parliament; where, upon a lettre de cachet sent by the king, whereby his majesty ordered that the authors of the sedition should be informed against, it was resolved that they should go about it with all the application that a conspiracy against the state deserved.

The 14th the prince of Condé made his complaint, and required that an information should be made of the assassination intended against his person.

The 15th there was no assembly of the chambers, because they would give time to messieurs Charon and Doujat to finish the informations which they were directed to make.

The 18th the chambers not meeting for the same reason, Joly presented his petition to the grand-chamber to be sent back to the chamber of Tournelle, alledging that his was but a private affair, which was not to come before an assembly of the chambers, having no manner of relation to the sedition. But the first president, who would make but one business of the whole, referred his petition to the assembly of chambers.

The 19th they did not assemble.

The



The 20th the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé came to the parliament, where the whole sitting was spent about contesting whether the president Charton, who had made his complaint upon the day of the pretended attempt against Joly, should vote or not : It went against his voting, and that very justly.

The 21st the chambers did not meet.

The Fronde was not asleep all this while, and I left nothing undone, that might conduce to the re-establishing our affairs. Most of our friends were in a despairing condition ; all of them were but in a very weak one. The Marechal de la Mothe was even moved with the civility which the Prince shewed him, in distinguishing him from the rest ; and if he did not wholly leave us, he went pretty far towards it. I am obliged to make in this place Caumartin's \* panegyrick. There was a kind of an alliance betwixt us ; Eltri, a cousin-german of mine, having married one of his aunts. There was besides some friendship betwixt us, but without any intimacy. He united himself to me in a most intimate manner the day that followed la Boulaye's attempt, and embraced my interests when all the world thought me undone. I acknowledged that proceeding of his, by confiding in him altogether ; and I continued to do it very soon after, by reason of the esteem I had for his ability, which surpassed his age.

Those I found to be most firm in Paris during this consternation were the curates. They worked among the people during these last seven or eight days, with an incredible zeal ; and the curate of St. Gervais, brother to the Advocate-general Talon, wrote these words to me upon the 15th : ' you will get up again ; keep yourself from being assassinated : in less than a week's time, you will be stronger than your enemies.'

The 21st at noon an officer of chancery sent me notice that Mr. Meillant, Attorney-general, had been for two hours locked up in the morning with the Chancellor and Mr. de Chavigni, and that it was resolved according to the first president's advice, that on the 23d the Attorney-general should bring in his conclusions against Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. de

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Broussel,

\* Lewis Francis le Fevre, lord of Caumartin, Boissi, Argouges, &c. His grandfather was Lord-keeper in Lewis XIII's time ; his father Ambassador in Switzerland and at Venice ; and he had himself several honourable employments.

Broussel, and me; which conclusions were, that we should be summoned to appear before the chambers † in a manner very little different from the way of proceeding against criminals.

We had in the afternoon a great meeting of the Fronde at Longueil's house, where great contests arose. The people's consternation gave ground to fear that the court would make use of that juncture to cause us to be arrested under pretence of some form in law, which, as Longueil pretended, might be conveyed into the proceedings by the cunning of the president de Mesmes, and afterwards supported by the first president's boldness. That opinion of Longueil's gave me some uneasiness as well as it did the rest. I could not however come up to the other's advice, which was to venture upon an insurrection. I knew that the people were returning to us, but I knew that they were not as yet returned, and that we might for that reason probably fail in our attempt. I was besides assured, that though we should succeed, we were nevertheless undone, because it would be impossible for us to support such a rising, which would serve but to convict us of three very odious and capital crimes. My reasons were good to work upon minds not prepossessed with fear; but persons in a fright are capable of no other impression. I then observed, *that when fear is once come to a certain pitch it causes the same effects as temerity.* Longueil's advice on this occasion, was to invest the palais-royal. After I had for a long while suffered them to spend themselves, to give time to their imagination to cool, because so long as it keeps hot it will never yield, I proposed to them what I intended to have said before I came to Longueil's. That was, that when we should hear the next day that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince were at the parliament, Mr. de Beaufort should go thither, followed only by one of his gentlemen; that I should likewise go thither at the same time, but by another door, having but a single chaplain with me; that we should take our seats as usual, and that I should then say in Mr. de Beaufort's name and mine, that hearing that we were involved in the sedition, we came to present ourselves to the parliament in order to be punished if we were guilty, or to require justice against the calumniators if we were found innocent; and

† *In the French, une maniere, d'ajournement personel un peu mitigé, that is, a kind of summons (for a personal appearance on a criminal accusation) a little softened.*

and that, though as to my particular part I did not reckon myself under the company's jurisdiction, I willingly renounced all manner of privileges to make my innocence appear in the presence of a body, for which I ever had the greatest attachment and veneration. ' I know very well, said I to Longueil, and to the rest of the company, that the course which I propose is something ticklish, because we may be killed there ; but if we escape, we shall be uppermost to-morrow, which will look so great for us, the next day after the blackest of accusations, that there is nothing but what we ought to venture for it. We are innocent, truth is of a mighty force, the people and our friends are dejected for no other reason but because the unhappy circumstances, which the caprice of fortune has crowded together, leaves them room to doubt of our innocence. Our assurance will give a new life to the parliament and to the people. I maintain that if we are not killed, we shall return from the parliament more accompanied than our enemies. Christmas holydays are near, there will be no more assemblies but those of to-morrow, and of the day after it. If things pass as I imagine, I will support them with the people by a sermon which I design to preach upon Christmas-day at St. Germain's de l'Auxerrois, which is the King's parish. After the holy-days we shall support them by means of our friends, whom we shall have time to send for from the provinces.

They all agreed to this advice, and commended us to God as being likely to run a great risk, and so every body went home, but with very little hopes.

At my coming home, I found a billet from Madam de Lesdiguières, that gave me notice, that the queen, who had foreseen that we might resolve upon going to the parliament, because the Attorney-general's conclusions against us were pretty much spread abroad, had wrote a letter to the archbishop my uncle, intreating him to go and take his seat at the parliament, with a design to hinder me from going thither, because I had no seat there but in my uncle's absence.

I went at three in the morning to find out messieurs de Brissac and de Retz, and I carried them to the capuchins of the suburb of St. James, where my uncle had lain, to desire him in a family-body not to go in person to the parliament. My uncle was a man but of little sense, and that little he had was not of the right sort ; he was a weak fearful man, and jealous of me even to ridicule. He had promised the



queen that he would go, and all that we could get of him was nothing but a pack of impertinencies and vauntings, pretending that he would speak in my defence better than I could do myself. Be pleased to observe that though he prated very much in private, he was always mute when he appeared in publick. A surgeon whom he kept in his family, desired that I would go to the convent of the Carmelites, which is very near, where I should quickly hear from him. He came in a quarter of an hour's time, and told me that we had no sooner left my uncle, but that he came into his room, and had much commended him for the courage he had shewed in resisting his nephew, who designed, he said, to bury him alive : that he had afterwards advised him to make haste to rise and go to the parliament, but that as soon as he saw him out of bed, he asked him in a seeming fright, how he did ? to which my uncle answering, that he was very well : ' lord ' Sir, said he, how can that be, when you look so very ill ?' that feeling his pulse afterwards, and telling him that he certainly was in a fever, my uncle had immediately gone to bed again, whence no king or queen in the world could have power to persuade him to stir for a fortnight's time.

Hearing this, we went to the parliament, messieurs de Beaufort, de Brissac, de Retz and I, but separately. The Princes had there near a thousand gentlemen with them, and I may say that hardly one from the court was missing there. I was in my church habit, and went through the great hall with my cap in my hand, saluting every body ; but I met with but few that returned me that civility, so strongly was it believed that I was an undone man. I came into the grand-chamber before Mr. de Beaufort, and at my coming in I heard that sort of noise which you have often heard at church, when the preacher has said something that pleases the assembly. It was occasioned by the surprize they were in, to see me there, and I took it for a good omen. I then spoke, and said what I had projected ; and at the end of my speech, which was both short and modest, I heard the like noise as before. A counsellor offering at that instant a petition in behalf of Joly, the President de Mesmes said that before they entered on any thing else, the informations about the conspiracy formed against the state and the royal family, which it had pleased God to discover, must be first read. He added after these words something of the conspiracy at Amboise, \* which

\* A town in Touraine, upon the river Loire, where the Huguenots were said to have attempted in the year 1560, against

which gave me as you shall see a great advantage over him. I have observed a thousand times that *in great affairs it is as necessary to make choice of every word, as it is superfluous to do it in affairs of small moment.*

The informations were read, and the witnesses were, one Canto, who had been sentenced to be hanged at Pau; one Pichon, who had been put upon the wheel in effigy at Mans; one Sociande, against whom there were proofs of forgery in the Tournelle; la Comete, Marcaffar, Gorgibus, all arrant cheats. I do not believe that you ever saw in Mr. Pascal's letters against the Jesuits, names more ridiculous than these were, and I think that Gorgibus may vie it with Tambourin. Canto's deposition alone took four hours reading. I here give you the substance of it. He had, he said, been present at several assemblies of the annuitants, at the town-house, where he had heard that Mr. de Beaufort and the Coadjutor intended to kill the Prince of Condé; that he had seen la Boulaye at Mr. de Broussel's, and afterwards at the Coadjutor's upon the day that the sedition was raised; that the President Charton had that same day cried to arms; that Joly had whispered him in the ear, though he never knew nor saw him before; that the Prince of Condé and the great Beard (meaning the first President) must be dispatched. This was his deposition, which was confirmed by the rest of the witnesses. The Attorney-general, who was let in after the informations were read, having brought in his conclusions, which were, that we should be summoned, Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. de Broussel and I, in order to be heard, I pulled off my cap, designing to speak. The first President would have opposed it, saying that it was contrary to order, and that it would be time enough for me to speak in my turn; but he had like to have been stifled by the stir and noise, which my good friends the mob of the chambers of inquest made against him. This is what I said to the assembly.

‘ I do not believe, gentlemen, that in the last ages any example can be found of personal summons given to gentlemen of our quality upon mere hearsay; neither can it come into my thoughts that posterity can believe or bear, that those hearsays should be so much as hearkened to, coming from the mouth of the most infamous wretches that ever  
‘ were

*against King Francis the Second's life; though they all along denied it, confessing only an attempt against those of the house of Guise.*

' were dragged out of a dungeon. Canto has been senten-  
 ' ced to be hanged at Pau; Pichon to be broken upon the  
 ' wheel at Mans; Sociande remains still under a criminal ac-  
 ' cusation in your registers.' [the Advocate General Bignon  
 had sent me notice of all this at two o'clock that morning.]  
 ' Be pleased to judge of what value their testimony is, by  
 ' this, and by their being all professed and convicted cheats.  
 ' But, gentlemen, their being so is not all; they have still  
 ' a more sublime and rare quality; they are witnesses by  
 ' Brevet.\* I am grieved at heart that our honour, which  
 ' we are bound to defend by divine and human laws, has  
 ' obliged me to bring to light, under the most innocent of  
 ' Kings, what the most corrupt ages have detested, even  
 ' when inured to the mismanagement of ancient tyrants.  
 ' Yes, gentlemen, Canto, Sociande, and Gorgibus, have  
 ' brevets to accuse us of, and those brevets are signed with the  
 ' august name that should never be made use of but for the  
 ' preserving the most sacred laws still the more intire. Cardinal  
 ' Mazarin, who knows of no other laws but those of the  
 ' revenge, which he is intent upon against the defenders of  
 ' the publick liberty, has forced Mr. le Tellier, Secretary of  
 ' State, to counter-sign those infamous brevets. We require  
 ' justice to be done on this: but first of all we humbly re-  
 ' quire that justice be done on us in the most severe manner  
 ' that the ordinances inflict upon criminals against the state,  
 ' if it be found that we have either directly or indirectly been  
 ' abettors to those that have caused this last commotion. Is  
 ' it possible, gentlemen, that a grandson of Henry the  
 ' Great, a senator of the years and probity of Mr. de Brouf-  
 ' sel, a Coadjutor of Paris, can be so much as suspected of a  
 ' sedition, at the head of which none has appeared but a  
 ' hair-brained man, followed only by fifteen of the dregs of  
 ' the people? I am persuaded that it would be a shame for  
 ' me to enlarge further upon that subject. I will only add  
 ' that this is all I know of the modern conspiracy of Am-  
 ' boise.'

I cannot express the applauses of the inquests. A great  
 rumour arose about what I had said of the witnesses by bre-  
 vet. Old Doujat, who was one of the judges to whom the  
 case was referred, and who had himself given me notice of  
 that particular, by means of the Advocate-general Talon,  
 who was related to him, owned it at the same time that he  
 seemed to excuse it. He rose up in a seeming passion, saying  
 very

\* That word has been explained in the first volume.



very artfully : ' the brevets you mean, Sir, are not for accusing of you, as you alledge. It is true there are brevets, but with a design only to discover what is done in the assembly of the town-house annuitants. How could the King be informed but by promising impunity to the informers, who are sometimes obliged, in order to get their intelligence, to speak words that might be imputed to them as crimes ? there is a great difference between those sort of brevets, and brevets given on purpose to accuse you.'

The company was not appeased by this speech ; they all appeared to be in a mighty heat. The first President, who never was frightened at a noise, took in his hand his long beard, which he commonly did when he grew angry, saying, ' have patience, gentlemen, and let us proceed in order. Messieurs de Beaufort, the Coadjutor, and Broussel, you stand accused : there are conclusions taken against you ; get out of your seats, and withdraw.' Mr. de Beaufort and I were accordingly going to do it, but Broussel stopt us, and said, ' neither you, nor I, Sirs, ought to withdraw, till it is so ordered by the company : And if we are to withdraw, the first President, whom all the world knows to be a party concerned against us, ought to withdraw, likewise.' I added to that : ' And so ought the Prince.' The Prince hearing himself named, said in a bantering, but a haughty tone, *Who I, Sir ? Yes, you Sir,* answered I ; *justice has an equal regard for every one.* The President de Mesmes said upon this, speaking to the Prince, ' No, Sir, you ought not to withdraw, except the company orders it. If the Coadjutor desires it, he must address himself for that purpose to the company. As for him, he stands accused, and the orders are that he should withdraw. However, since he makes a difficulty about it, we must put it to the vote.' The heat was such among the company, in relation to this charge, and against the witnesses by brevet, that above eighty voted for our keeping our seats, though nothing in the world was more contrary to the usual form. The majority however was for our withdrawing, but most of the speeches were panegyrics in our behalf, a satire against the ministers, and curses against the brevets.

We had persons posted in the † lanterns, that took care to

\* I have altered the French in this place, the mistake being visible.

† Small wainscotted places, from whence one may hear the debates without being seen.

to spread in the hall what was transacting in the grand-chamber. The curates and parish-priests were not idle all this while ; and the people came crowding to the parliament from all the quarters of the city. It was but seven in the morning when we met there, and we did not come out till five in the afternoon. Ten hours time gave leisure enough to the people to assemble, so you may judge how great the croud was in and about the parliament. The Duke de Beaufort and I were the only two persons that were carried upon people's shoulders, whilst all the rest were treading upon one another's heels. However, a due respect was preserved both for the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, except in this single point, that in their presence an infinite number of voices were heard to cry, Long live Beaufort, Long live the Coadjutor.\*

In this manner did we come out of the court-hall, from whence we went to dine at my house, where it was six o'clock before we arrived, and that not without some pain occasioned by the concourse of people. We had notice sent us about eleven at night, that they had resolved at the palais-royal that the chambers should not assemble the next day ; and the President de Bellievre, whom we took care to inform of it, advised us to be at the parliament by seven in the morning to demand an assembly, which we did not fail to do.

Mr. de Beaufort told the first President that the state and the royal family were in danger ; that time was precious, and that it was necessary to make an example of the guilty, for which reason he required that the chambers should immediately be assembled. Old Broussel attacked the first president personally, falling even into a passion at him. Eight or ten Counsellors of the inquests came at that moment into the grand-chamber, to express their wonder, that after so black a conspiracy the parliament should sit still without prosecuting the guilty. Messieurs Bignon and Talon, the two Advocates general, had incensed people's minds, by saying at the bar of the King's counsel, that they had no manner of hand in the conclusions that had been taken, which they looked upon as ridiculous. The first President acted very wisely all this while, bearing with an incredible patience the most cutting words spoken against him. He thought with reason that we should have been glad to force from him some answer or other,

\* According to Joly : Long live Beaufort ! Long live Broussel !

other, which might have served us for a ground to except against him, and which therefore he was willing to prevent.

We took care in the afternoon to send into the provinces for our friends, which could not be done without expence, and Mr. de Beaufort had not a penny. Loziere, whom I have already mentioned on account of the bulls for my Coadjutorship of Paris, brought me 3000 pistoles, which supplied all. Mr. de Beaufort expected to have sixty gentlemen from the Vendomois and from the Blefois, and forty from about Anet, but he could have but fifty-four in all: I had fourteen out of Brie, and Annery brought me eighty out of the Vexin, who not only refused to take one farthing from me, but who would not even suffer that I should pay for them at their inns. They were all the time that this business lasted, as assiduous with me, as if they had been my guards. Annery disposed of them at his pleasure, and I did the like by Annery, who was one of the stoutest and faithfulest friends that could be met with: you will see by and by what we designed these gentlemen for.

I preached upon Christmas day at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. My subject was Christian charity, and I avoided mentioning one word of what had passed against me. The women wept, and deplored the unjust persecution of an Archbishop who shewed nothing but meekness for his enemies; and coming from the pulpit, I found by the blessings I met with, that I was not mistaken in my opinion of the good effect this sermon was to produce, which was incredible and far surpassing my expectation. \*

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 The 29th Mr. de Beaufort and I came to the parliament with a body of gentlemen that made up about 300, and we arrived there before the Princes. The people, whose zeal for us was revived, would have proved sufficient to defend us; but the gentry however were useful, not only by making us

C 5

appear

\* Besides five lines that are here scratched out; there are two whole paragraphs in the French copy so much intermixed with chasms, that it is impossible to make any sense of them, for which reason I have omitted to translate them, and the rather because they have but little relation to what precedes, and none at all to what follows. What may be gathered from the last paragraph, is, that Mr. de Neirmoutier acted in a manner that gave the Coadjutor room to suspect him.



appear to be something besides tribunes of the people, but because intending to be every day at the parliament in the fourth chamber of inquests, which opens into the grand chamber, we were very glad not to be exposed, in a place where the common people are not suffered to enter, to the insults of the courtiers that were mixed with us. We conversed together, and were very civil to one another; and yet we were eight or ten times every morning upon the point of cutting one another's throats, when any noise was heard in the grand-chamber, which the contests that happened pretty frequently, occasioned by the heat people were in, brought often about. Every body mistrusted one another: and I may say without any exaggeration, and even without excepting the Counsellors, that there were not twenty men there that were not armed with daggers. As for my part I had been against carrying any, but the Duke de Brissac forced me to take one, one day, when it was likely that the heat would be greater than ordinary. The carrying of such a sort of weapon, so unbecoming my character, troubled me exceedingly. Mr. de Beaufort, who was naturally pretty blunt and heedless, observing the hilt that appeared a little out of my pocket, shewed it to Arnaud, to la Monssaye, and to Desfrochies Captain of the Prince of Condé's guards, saying: 'See the Coadjutor's breviary.' I was forced to bear with the raillery, though, to say the truth, much against the grain.

We presented our petition to the parliament, wherein we excepted against the first President, as being our enemy; which stroke he did not bear with his wonted courage. He appeared moved and even mortified at it. The deliberation about his being, or not being excepted, lasted for some days. There were many set speeches on this occasion, and it is certain that the subject was exhausted. It was carried at last by a majority of 98 votes against 62, that he should remain judge, and I am persuaded that the arrest was just, at least according to the forms of parliament. But at the same time I am persuaded that those that voted against him had in the main the right on their side, considering the passion which that magistrate expressed on this occasion, though he thought himself free from it; he was indeed prepossessed, but his intention was good. The time that passed after his remaining our judge, which was on the 4th of January, was employed in nothing else but in cavils, made by Charon, one of the judges to whom the case was referred, and altogether a dependant on the first President. His design in that was to delay the matter

matter as long as he could, in expectation of some light to be given about the pretended conspiracy, by one Boquemont who had served as lieutenant under la Boulaye in the Civil War, and by one Belot a Syndick of the town-house annuitants, who was then a prisoner in the Conciergerie.

This Belot, who had been arrested without a decree of parliament, had like to have been the cause of a general desolation in Paris. The President de la Grange represented that nothing was more contrary to the declaration, which they had formerly obtained with so much pains, than Belot's imprisonment. The first President maintaining that imprisonment to be good, Daurat, a Counsellor of the third chamber said to him, that he wondered that a man, that had had sixty-two votes for his exclusion, durst presume to infringe so openly the forms of justice. Upon this the first President rose up in a passion, saying that there was no discipline left, and that he quitted his seat to some other person for whom they would have more regard than they had for him. This occasioned such a commotion and such a stamping in the great-chamber, that it was heard in the fourth; whereupon those of each party joined one another, making two opposite bodies. If any one, even a footman, had drawn his sword in this juncture, the whole city of Paris had been in the greatest confusion.

We continued to press for our judgment, and the judges delayed it as much as they could, because they could not help acquitting us, and condemning the witnesses by brevet. One day they pretended that they were obliged to stay the coming of one Des Marinaux that had been arrested in Normandy for declaiming against the minister in the assemblies of the annuitants, which man I knew at that time neither by name nor by sight. Another day they cavilled about the manner of judging us, some pretending that they must include in the same judgment all other persons that were mentioned in the informations, others being unwilling to suffer that our names should be blended with the names of those that were involved in the same affair. Nothing is more easy than to spend a whole sitting about trifles, when a single word may serve as an occasion for fifty Counsellors to speak one after another. Besides, they were forced to read over and over those wretched informations wherein there was not evidence enough to condemn the meanest man to the least corporal punishment. This was the state of the parliament to the 18th of January 1650; this was what every body might

perceive.

perceive; but what I am going to explain is what no body knew, but those that were acquainted with the secret springs that moved the machine.

Our first appearing at the parliament, added to the ridiculous informations made against us, altered people's minds in such a manner, that the publick was persuaded of our innocence. The Prince of Condé grew milder four or five days after those informations were read. Mr. de Bouillon has told me more than once since, that the Prince finding the matter, which the court at first had represented to him as clear and certain, so ill supported by proofs, it had given him great cause to suspect that he had been deceived both by Servien and the Cardinal; which opinion he (Mr. de Bouillon) had done his best to confirm him in. He added that Chavigny, though Mazarin's enemy, was no help to him on this occasion, because he would not have the Prince take any step towards the Frondeurs. I cannot however reconcile this with the advance that Chavigny himself made me by the means of Dugué-de Bagnols, father to him whom you are acquainted with, and who was a friend to us both. He made us both come to his house in the night-time, where Chavigny told me that he should reckon himself the happiest of men, if he might but contribute to the accommodation. He assured me that the Prince of Condé was persuaded that there had been nothing designed by us against him; but that he was engaged, as well in regard to the world, as in regard to the court. That as to the court he might indeed find out some medium, but that it would be hard to find out any thing as to the publick, sufficient to satisfy a first Prince of the blood, who was publickly and in a hostile manner braved as he was; except I would resolve to yield to him, at least for a time. In order to this he proposed to me to go as ambassador in ordinary to Rome, or in extraordinary to the Empire; the sending an extraordinary ambassador to this last place being at that time talked of, for some causes which I have forgot. You may guess what my answer was. We agreed upon nothing, though I did all that ever I could to convince Mr. de Chavigny that I had nothing more at heart than to regain the Prince's good will. I asked that Prince one day, being at Brussels with him, to unfold what Mr. de Bouillon had told me about Chavigny, but I cannot remember what his answer was.

The conference which I had with Chavigny was upon the 30th of December 1649. The first of January Madam de Chevreuse (who since the King's return to Paris was again suffered



suffered to see the Queen, and who even during her disgrace had preserved with her a kind of an incomprehensible correspondence) went to the Palais-royal. The Cardinal took her there aside in the Queen's little closet, and said to her: 'You love the Queen; is it possible that you cannot bring your friends over to her?' 'How can that be,' answered she, 'when the Queen is no longer Queen, but is only an humble dependant of the Prince of Condé's.' 'Lord,' said the Cardinal rubbing his forehead, 'if one could but rely upon people, what could not one do? But Mr. de Beaufort is devoted to Madam de Montbazon, Madam de Montbazon to Vigneuil, and the coadjutor — — — —.' He smiled in saying that word, which made Madam de Chevreuse say: 'I understand you, and I will be answerable both for him and her.' In this manner did the conversation begin between them. The Cardinal gave the Queen a nod, by which Madam de Chevreuse knew that all this discourse had been concerted. She had that same evening a pretty long conversation with the Queen herself, who gave her the following note, writ and signed with her own hand.

'Notwithstanding what has passed formerly, and what passes now, I cannot but think the coadjutor faithful to me. I desire that I may see him without any body's knowing of it, except Madam and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. This name shall be his surety.'

A N N E.

Madam de Chevreuse found me at her house when she came back from the Queen, and I perceived immediately that she had something to impart to me, by the manner in which Mademoiselle de Chevreuse (whom she had instructed as they were coming back together) questioned me, and felt my pulse about the disposition which I should be in, in case Mazarin desired an accommodation with me. I was not long in doubt, because Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who durst not open herself further before her mother, squeezed me by the hand, feigning to take up her muff, to let me know that what she said was not from herself. What made Madam de Chevreuse afraid that I would not consent to that accommodation, was, that I had some time before broke off against her will a negotiation which Ondedei had proposed to Noirmoutier, by the means of Madam d'Empus. Laigues, who had been angry with me about it, owned six days after that I had done well, being well informed that if Noirmoutier had been to speak with the Queen in the night-time as Ondedei

dei

dei proposed, a plot was laid to put the Marechal de Grammont behind the hangings, that he might afterwards tell the Prince of Condé in what manner the Frondeurs, who were every day offering him their services, deceived him. I was not long however upon resolving, after I had weighed all the circumstances, among which one that persuaded me most that the Queen's anger against the Prince was real, was, that I was informed that she laid upon him the pretended intrigue which Jerzay \* would make the publick believe he had had with her. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse did her best to prevent my attempting an adventure in which she thought I should perish; and though she was at first unwilling to speak her mind before her mother, she could not refrain from doing it at last: But I obliged her to consent to it; and this is the answer which I returned the Queen.

' There never was an instant in my whole life in which I have not equally been devoted to your Majesty. Far from seeking for any surety, I should think myself too happy to die for your Majesty's service. I will not fail to go where your Majesty shall order.'

I inclosed her note in mine, which Madam de Chevreuse carried to her the next day, and which was well received. The time and place were fixed, and I went at midnight to the cloister of St. Honoré, where Gabouri, the Queen's cloak-bearer, met me, and carried me by a private stair-case to the Queen's little oratory, where she was shut up all alone. She expressed all the kindness for me which her hatred to the Prince could inspire her with, and which her attachment to the Cardinal could permit, though in my thinking this last passion outweighed the other. I believe that she called him twenty times *The poor Cardinal*, speaking of the civil war, and mentioning the friendship which he had for me. Her dear Cardinal came to us in half an hour's time. He begged that the Queen would excuse his want of respect to her, and would suffer him to embrace me in her presence. It was the greatest grief in the world to him, he told me, that he could not

\* It was the Prince of Condé, who, to divert himself, persuaded the Marquis de Jerzay that the Queen was in love with him, and that he ought to push his fortune. The Queen having found his love-letter upon her toilet, and knowing who had put him upon it, forbade Jerzay ever to appear before her. But the Prince having declared his will to the contrary, the Queen was forced to see Jerzay that very day. See *Ménagiana*, vol. III. p. 169, 170.

not give me at that instant his Cardinal's cap, and spoke so much of rewards, of benefits, of favours, that I was obliged to explain to him my thoughts, being not ignorant that *nothing is more capable of occasioning distrust in new reconciliations, than to shew an averseness of being obliged to those with whom we are reconciled.* I answered the Cardinal, that the honour of serving the Queen was the greatest recompence which I ought ever to hope for, supposing even that I had saved the crown; that I therefore most humbly begged of her Majesty, never to give me any other recompence, that I might have at least the satisfaction of shewing her, that that was the only one which I valued, and which could touch my heart with pleasure.

The Cardinal answering to this, begged of the Queen that she would command me to accept of the nomination to the Cardinalship, which, added he, la Riviere hath insolently extorted, and perfidiously repaid. I excused myself, by alledging that I had taken the resolution never to become a Cardinal by any means that had the least relation to the civil war, that I might thereby convince the Queen that I had been driven from her service by meer necessity. I made use of the same reason for rejecting all his other proposals, of the paying my debts, of the place of great almoner, and of the abbey of Orcan. But he still insisting and saying, that it would not look well in the Queen if she did not do something for me that might be taken notice of, when I was upon the point of doing her a very considerable piece of service, I answered him in these words: 'There is a point, Sir, in which the Queen may oblige me more than if she gave me the popedom. Her Majesty has just now told me, that she designs to have the Prince of Condé arrested. His imprisonment, considering both his rank and his merit, cannot last, nor ought to last for ever. When he comes out of it exasperated against me, I shall reckon it a misfortune; but I have room to hope that I may sustain it by means of my dignity. The case is not the same with many persons that are engaged with me, and that will serve the Queen on this occasion. If it would therefore please your Majesty,' said I, addressing myself to her, 'to intrust one of them with some town of importance, I should be more obliged to her for it than for ten Cardinals hats.' Mazarin told the Queen that there was nothing more just, and that the particulars were to be concerted betwixt him and me. The Queen would have me give her my word not to open myself to Mr. de Beaufort about the design of arresting the Prince, till the day



day that it was done; because Madam de Montbazon, to whom he would infallibly discover it, would not fail to tell it Vigneuil, who was altogether for the House of Condé. I told the Queen that a secret of this nature kept from Mr. de Beaufort in an occasion where our interests were so nearly united, would dishonour me in the world if I did not compensate it by some eminent service; that I therefore begged leave to tell her Majesty, that the superintendency of the seas, which had been promised to the House of Vendôme from the first days of the regency, would work wonderfully among the publick. To this the Cardinal answered hastily: 'That post has been promised to the father, and after him to the eldest son.'\* I replied to him: 'My fancy tells me that the eldest son will marry into a family that will set him much above the superintendency of the seas.' He smiled, and told the Queen that he would likewise agree that matter with me. I had a second conference with the Queen and him at the same place, and at the same hour. I had three conferences with him only at the Palais-royal in his own closet, at which Noirmoutier and Laigues assisted. It was agreed in these conferences, that Mr. de Vendôme should have the superintendency of the seas, and Mr. de Beaufort the survivorship of it; that Mr. de Noirmoutier should have the government of Charleville and of Mont Olimpe, and should likewise be made a Duke; that Mr. de Laigues should be made Captain of the Duke † of Anjou's guards; that the Chevalier de Sevigny should have 22000 livres paid him; that Mr. de Brissac should have for his recompence the government of Anjou at a certain price, with a brevet of continuance to his heirs, or for the repayment of the whole sum. It was resolved, that the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville should be arrested. I did all I could in favour of this last; I offered to be his bail; I contested even with obstinacy, and would not yield till the Cardinal shewed me a billet of la Riviere's writ with his own hand to Flamarin, wherein I read these very words: 'I thank you for your advice, but I am as sure of Mr. de Longueville, as you are of Mr. de la Rochefoucaut; the sacramental words are pronounced.'

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\* The Duke de Mercœur, who afterwards married one of the Cardinal's nieces.

† Brother to Lewis XIV. After the death of the Duke of Orleans his uncle, he was made Duke of Orleans.

The Cardinal took this occasion to enlarge upon la Riviere's infidelity, and told us particulars which could not be heard without some horror. 'That man,' added he, 'takes me for the greatest fool imaginable, and makes no doubt of being quickly chosen Cardinal. I have given myself the diversion this very day to let him try several sorts of scarlet cloaths, which I have received from Italy, and to bring them near his face to see which colour would suit best with him, either the carnation or the scarlet.' This the Cardinal told us: but I have heard since at Rome, that whatever la Riviere's treachery to him might be, the Cardinal was not behind-hand with him. The very day that he had caused the King to give him his nomination to the Cardinalship, he wrote a letter to the Cardinal Sachette, which I have seen, much fitter to cast a blemish than a lustre on that dignity. And yet that letter was full of kind expressions towards la Riviere; but that was the true way to ruin him with the Pope, whose hatred for Mazarin was such, that it extended to every one of his friends.

At the second conference in which the Queen was present, much was said about finding out means to bring the Duke of Orleans to consent to the imprisonment of the Princes. The Queen thought it most easy, but the Cardinal seemed not so sure as she of the Duke's favourable disposition. Madam de Chevreuse undertook to sound him. He was naturally well inclined to her, and she made use of that very artfully. She made him believe, that though the Queen was at the bottom dissatisfied with the Prince of Condé, none but his Royal Highness was able to bring her to the resolution of arresting him. She magnified how advantageous it would be to bring back to the King's service so powerful a faction as the Fronde was. She slyly insinuated what danger there was to see daily Paris destroyed with fire and sword. I am persuaded, and so was Madam de Chevreuse, that this last reason worked upon him as much at least as any thing else she said, for he was in the greatest fright possible every time that he came to the parliament, and there were days when the Prince of Condé had not power enough with him to carry him thither. These were called his Royal Highness's fits of the cholick. His fright however was not without cause. If a footman had but unadvisedly drawn his sword, we had all been killed in less than a quarter of an hour; and what is extraordinary is, that if this had happened betwixt the 1st and the 18th of January, those that had murdered us had been the very men with whom we were now agreed; because all the officers of the

the household, as well the King's as the Queen-mother's, those of the Duke of Orleans, and those of the Cardinal, were persuaded that they made their court extremely well in waiting regularly upon the Princes.

I never could find out the reason that made the Cardinal dally so much the five or six last days that preceded the imprisonment. Laigues and Noirmoutier were of opinion that he did it designedly, and in hopes that in our meetings with the Princes at the Parliament we might massacre one another. But I believe that he dreaded such an accident as much as we did, because he could not be ignorant that in that case he must be involved in the same fate, and that there was no place of refuge sacred enough to save him from it. Besides, if such a thought had come into his head, it would have been easy for him to bring it about, by having but two men there to begin the squabble. I have always attributed that delay, which I own was capable and likely to have done a great deal of mischief to Mazarin's natural irresolution. The keeping this so long a secret amongst seventeen persons, is another reason which has induced me to make the reflection which I have mentioned to you before; *That secrecy among persons used to great affairs is not so rare as is believed.* I could not however but be very uneasy in relation to Noirmoutier, whom I knew to be the man in the world the least capable of secrecy.

Upon the 18th of January, Laigues, in a conference which he had in the night with Lionne, having pressed him extremely to execute the design, the Cardinal came to a final resolution about it the next day at noon. He had made the Prince of Condé believe the night before, that Parain des Coutures, who had been one of the Syndicks of the annuitants, was hid in a certain house, and under pretence of settling measures for the imprisoning that man, he caused the Prince himself to give the necessary orders to the King's gens-d'armes and light-horse for the carrying him a prisoner to Vincennes. The Princes came to council, Guitaut, Captain of the Queen's guards, arrested the Prince of Condé, Cominges his Lieutenant the Prince of Conti, and Cressi his Ensign the Duke of Longueville. I had forgot to tell you, that after Madam de Chevreuse had brought the Duke of Orleans to consent that she should do her best to persuade the Queen to come to some resolution against the Prince, he asked as a preliminary that he might have a promise in writing from me, whereby I would engage to serve him, and that as soon



soon as he had that promise, he carried it to the Queen, thinking to have done her a mighty piece of service.

The Princes were no sooner arrested, but Mr. de Bouteville, who is now Duke of Luxembourg, passed over the Pont nôtre Dame, riding full speed, and crying aloud to the people that Mr. de Beaufort was arrested. They took up arms, which I caused them to lay down a moment after, by going thither with five or six flambeaux that lighted me. The Duke de Beaufort came thither likewise, and they made bonfires every where.

Mr. de Beaufort and I went together to the Duke of Orleans, where we found la Riviere in the great hall setting a good face upon the matter, and giving those that were present the particulars of what had passed at court. He could not however be ignorant that he was undone. He asked for leave to retire, and he obtained it, though it was not for want of endeavours in the Cardinal that he did not stay. He sent me Lionne about midnight to propose it to me, and to persuade me to it, but with the worst reasons in the world when I had solid ones to refuse it. Lionne told me five or six years ago, that the thought of preserving la Riviere came into the Cardinal's head by the means of Le Tellier, who was afraid that the Frondeurs would insinuate themselves into the Duke of Orleans's favour.

Immediately after the imprisonment the Queen sent a letter from the King to the parliament, explaining the reasons for having acted in that manner, which reasons were neither solid nor specious. We obtained an arrest that acquitted us, and we went to the Palais-royal, where I wondered more at the courtiers silliness than I had done at the citizens. They were got up upon all the benches that had been brought out of the chapel.

The Princesses were ordered to retire to Chantilly. The Duchesse de Longueville went into Normandy, where nobody cared to receive her. The Parliament of Rouën sent to desire her that she would leave that town. The Duke de Richlieu refused to receive her in Havre-de Grace. She went to Dieppe, where she was not suffered to stay long.

Mr. de Bouillon, who since the peace had stuck very close to the Prince, made haste to retire to Turenne. His brother the Marechal of that name, who had done the like since his return into France, got into Stenay, a strong place which the Prince had trusted to la Moussaye. Mr. de la Rouchefoucault, who was as yet but Prince of Marillac, retired into

into Poitou ; and the Mareſchal de Brezé, father-in-law to the Prince, got into Saumur.

A declaration was ſent to the parliament, and regiſtered there, whereby all the perſons that I have named were ordered to appear before the King in fifteen days time, in default whereof they were from that inſtant declared diſturbers of the publick peace, and guilty of high-treaſon. The King at the ſame time went to take a tour into Normandy, where it was feared that Madam de Longueville might occaſion ſome ſtirring by the means of Chamboy, who commanded under the Duke her husband in the Pont de l'Arche, and of Montigni, who was a domeſtick of his, and who had received her in the caſtle of Dieppe, of which he was Governor. But all ſubmitted there to the King. Madam de Longueville got away by ſea into Holland, from whence ſhe went to Arras to ſound old la Tour Governor of it, and a penſioner of her husband's, who offered her his perſon, but who reſuſed her his place. She afterwards went to Stenay, where Mr. de Turenne came to join her with all the friends and dependants of the Princes which he had been able to gather together ſince he had left Paris. La Becheraille got himſelf maſter, for the King, of the town of Damvillers, of which he had formerly been Deputy-governor, having cauſed the gariſon to declare againſt the Chevalier de la Rochefoucaut, who commanded there for his brother. The Mareſchal de la Ferté got himſelf likewiſe maſter of Clermont, without ſtriking a blow. The inhabitants of Mouzon turned out the Count de Grandpré their Governor, becauſe he propoſed to them to declare for the Princes. The King, after his having left Normandy, where he had ſet up the Count d'Harcourt for Governor in the room of the duke of Longueville, went into Burgundy, the government of which he gave to Mr. de Vendôme in the room of the Prince of Condé. The caſtle of Dijon ſurrendered to the new Governor. Bellegarde, though defended by meſſieurs de Tavannes, de Bouteville, and de St. Micaut, made but little reſiſtance againſt the King, who returned to Paris covered with laurels.

This good ſucceſs flew up a little too much into the Cardinal's head. He appeared much haughtier than he had done before his leaving Paris, of which this is the firſt ſign he gave. During the King's abſence the Princeſs Dowager of Condé came to Paris, and petitioned the parliament for their protection, and for leave to ſtay there to ſue for juſtice againſt the wrongful imprifonment of the Princes her children. The Parliament ordered that the Princeſs ſhould ſtay  
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at Mr. de la Grange's, a master in the chamber of accounts, who lived in the Palace-yard, whilst they should send to the Duke of Orleans, to desire him to come and take his seat amongst them.

The Duke answered the company's deputies, that the Princess having the King's command to go to Bourges, he thought it against his duty to go to the parliament to debate upon a matter in which there was nothing to be done but to obey that superior order. He added, that he should be glad to have the first President come to him about five o'clock. He went, and made the Duke sensible that his presence was necessary the next day at the parliament for suppressing some appearances of heat which might increase by the commiseration naturally due to a great Princess in affliction, and by the hatred which continued still in people's hearts against the person of the Cardinal. The Duke followed his advice. He met the Princess at the entrance of the grand-chamber, who cast herself at his feet. She begged Mr. de Beaufort's protection, and speaking to me, she said that she had the honour of being my relation. Mr. de Beaufort was sufficiently confounded, and I had like to have died for shame. The Duke of Orleans told the company, that it was the King's command that the Princess should leave Chantilly, because one of her footman there was found with many letters directed to the officer that commanded in Saumur; that he could not suffer her to stay at Paris, because she was come thither against the King's order; that he would therefore have her leave that place, and do it in a manner that might oblige the King, who was to return in two or three days, to have some regard to what she said about her ill state of health. She left Paris that same evening, and went to lie at Berney; from whence the King, who came two or three days after, ordered her to retire to Valery, but she fell sick at Angerville, and staid there.

I do not see that the Duke of Orleans could have behaved himself in a more regular manner for the King's service. And yet the Cardinal pretended that he had had too great a regard for the Princess, and he told Mr. de Beaufort and me, that it was on this occasion that we ought to have signalled our power with the people. He stood naturally upon punctilios, and loved to chide people, which is a great defect in those that have to do with many persons.

I took notice two days after of something worse than this. There were among the town-house annuitants, several, who, having made a noise in the assemblies which I have mentioned,



oned, and being afraid of being called to an account about it, desired, shortly after the imprisonment of the Princes, that I would get an amnesty for all that had passed. I spoke of it to the Cardinal, who made no manner of difficulty about it, and who even told me in the Queen's great closet, pointing to his hatband that was made after the manner of the Fronde: 'I shall myself be included in the amnesty.'

At his return to Paris he spoke in another manner. Instead of an amnesty he proposed an abolition, the name of which only had been enough to defame five or six Counsellors of the parliament that had been Syndicks for the annuitants, and perhaps a thousand or two of the most considerable citizens. It was what I represented to him, to which I do not see what sort of reply any body could have made. And yet he contested, he delayed, and shifted the thing off as long as he could; \* for though the Princes were arrested upon the 18th of January, it was the 12th of May before the amnesty was published and registered in the parliament. It is even certain, that he consented to it only upon my giving him to understand, that if it was not granted I would rigorously prosecute the witnesses by brevet, a thing which the court feared to the last degree, as being indeed extremely shameful. They were so much convinced of it there, that both Canto and Pichon had disappeared even before the Princes were arrested.

We had much about that time another dispute upon the subject of the town-house rents, in which Emery, who died quickly after, did his best to trouble the annuitants, even in things of so little advantage to the King, that I had room to believe that what he did in that matter was only to shew the annuitants that they had been abandoned by the Fronde ever since our accommodation with the court.

I had notice given me besides, that the Abbot Fouquet caballed against me, and dispersed money among the people of the lowest rank, spreading all the reports that might bring me into any suspicion.

The truth is, that all the subalterns of our party, without exception, who were afraid of a real union between the Cardinal and me, which they thought might easily happen by the

\* *The French copy adds: He went upon his two journies without concluding any thing; which words I have left out, because what is mentioned here did not happen till after his return to Paris.*

the marriage of the eldest Mancini \* with Mademoiselle de Retz, † who is now a nun, thought of nothing else but of setting us at variance from the very next day that followed the accommodation. They found no difficulty in it, because the caution which I was obliged to observe in regard to the publick to preserve myself from ruin, gave them room to interpret it as they pleased to Mazarin; and likewise because the confidence which the Duke of Orleans put in me presently after the imprisonment of the Princes, was in itself enough to bring a distrust of me into the Cardinal's mind. Goulas, principal Secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and restored to that post by the disgrace of la Riviere, who had turned him out of it, helped very much to give the Cardinal that distrust. That Secretary was moved to it by the interest he had to lessen with his master, by means of the court, the favour which I began to be in, fancying that that would have thwarted his. I desire that you would observe that I had not courted that favour, which, considering the Duke's humour, I knew to be very brittle, and even full of danger. Besides, I was not ignorant that the very shadow of governing a Prince, whose weakness you cannot prevent, must be disserviceable to a man, whose chief strength consists in his credit with the publick. I had for that reason looked upon the President de Bellievre for that purpose, because the Duke could not be without one to govern him; but I could not bring him to it. He hated, he said, the President's air, as being too sly, and favouring too much of the citizen. The Cardinal, who thought, with reason enough, Goulas too much in Chavigny's dependance, was too long in considering, and in chusing of another; for if at first he had declared for Beloy, a friend of Goulas, I believe that he had succeeded. However, it fell to my lot, at which I was very near as sorry as the court, for the reasons which I have alledged, and because that dependance put a constraint to my licentious way of living, which I had carried much beyond reason.

Another cause set me at variance with the Cardinal. The Earl of Montrose, ‡ a Scotch nobleman, and the head of the house of Graham (the only man in the world that has recalled

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\* Nephew to Cardinal Mazarin.

† Daughter to the Duke de Retz, the coadjutor's brother.

‡ James Graham, Earl, and afterwards Marquis of Montrose, who was executed at Edinburgh upon the 21st of May 1650. See the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

in me the ideas of some heroes which are now to be found only in Plutarch's Lives) had maintained in his country the King his master's party with a greatness of soul that has not had its equal in our age. He beat the parliament's troops that had been victorious every where else, and did not lay down his arms till after his master had delivered up himself into the hands of his enemies. He came to Paris a little before our civil war, and I became acquainted with him by the means of a Scotch gentleman that belonged to me, and who was somewhat related to him. I found an opportunity of serving him in his misfortune, and he contracted a friendship for me, which obliged him to chuse rather the service of France than that of the Empire, though he was offered there the post of Field-Marshal, which is very considerable. I served as a mediator between him and the Cardinal, whose offers he would accept only for the time that the King of England was not in want of his service. But that King quickly wanted him, and recalled him by an order written with his own hand, which Montros carried to the Cardinal, who commended him for his way of proceeding, telling him in express terms that they would faithfully keep at court all the engagements into which they were entered.

My Lord Montros came back into France two or three months after the imprisonment of the Princes, having brought with him near a hundred officers, most of them gentlemen of quality, and all of them men of service. But the Cardinal refused now to look upon him. Was not this, think you, a just cause of dissatisfaction to me? And yet I went on sincerely, about mending with the parliament, and with the people, all the ill steps which the Cardinal's ignorance, and the insolence of Servien, had caused them to take in above ten occasions. I kept most of their faults hid, and if it had pleased the court to keep within bounds, it had been very difficult, at least for some time, for the Prince of Condé to have recovered himself. But nothing is more rare in ministers, or indeed more difficult to them, than to keep moderate, during that calm which immediately succeeds a mighty tempest, because, though the distrust continues, flattery never fails then to redouble.

The time I mean could not however be called a calm, but only by comparison with the time past, for the commotions began to renew in many places. The Marechal de Brezé, a man of very little merit, had been alarmed at the declaration put out against the followers of the Princes, and had sent to the King to assure him of his loyalty. But he died immediately



immediately after, and Dumont who commanded under him in Saumur, and whom you see now belonging to the Prince of Condé, thought his honour engaged not to abandon the interest of the Princess of Condé, his late master's daughter. He declared in favour of the Princes, being in hopes that Mr. de la Rochefoucault (who, under the cover of celebrating the late Duke his father's funeral, had assembled together a great many gentlemen) would have succoured him. But that Duke having miscarried in a design he had upon Loudun, and the gentry which he had with him being returned home, Dumont surrendered his place to Cominges, to whom the Queen had given the government of it.

The Dutchess de Longueville and Mr. de Turenne made a treaty with the Spaniards. Mr. de Turenne joined their army which entered Picardy, where, after having taken le Castlelet, they besieged Guise. Bridieu, who was the Governor of that place, defended it extremely well; and the Count de Clermont, a younger brother of the house of Tonnerre, signalized himself there. The siege lasted eighteen days, and the Archduke for want of provisions was forced to raise it. Mr. de Turenne had made some levies with the money which he had received by virtue of his treaty with the Spaniards, and had joined to them the remnants of the troops that had been in Bellegarde. Most of the officers of the forces that bore the name of the Princes had likewise joined him, with messieurs de Bouteville, de Coligny, de Langres, de Duras, de Rochefort, de Tavannes, de Persan, de la Moussaye, de la Suze, de St. Ibal, de Cognac, de Chavagnac, de Guitaut, de Mailli, de Meille, the Chevaliers de Foix and de Grammont, &c.

This storm that was gathering should have brought the Cardinal to consider upon the state of affairs in Guienne, of which the wretched conduct of Mr. d'Epernon there, was the cause, and to which no other remedy could be found but the removing him thence. A thousand private quarrels, half of which proceeded from the ridiculous chymæra of his ignoble principality, had set him upon ill terms with the parliament and the magistrates of Bourdeaux, who most of them were not much wiser than he. Mazarin, who in my opinion was in this matter the maddest of them all, interested the royal authority in favour of Mr. d'Epernon, when a wise minister might have made both parties answerable for what had passed, without any harm to the King, and rather to his advantage.

One of the greatest misfortunes which the despotick power of the ministers of the last age has brought upon the state, is the custom which their private, but mistaken interest, has introduced, ever to support the superior against the inferior. That maxim is one of Machiavel's, who is an author whom most of his readers do not understand, and whom others take to have been a great politician; for no other reason but for having ever been wicked. He was very far from being a good politician; he has been in the wrong in a great many things, but in none in my opinion more than in this. As for the Cardinal, what blinded him most in this point was his immoderate desire for an alliance with Mr. d'Epemon's son, the Duke de Candale, who had nothing great in him but his large cannons. \* This gentleman, whose genius was of the lowest, was governed by the then Abbot, now the Cardinal d'Estrées, † who from his youth was most restless and fantastical. All these different characters of persons had so entangled the affairs of Guienne, that I believe that all the good sense of the Jeannins ‡ and of the Villeroys, infused into the Cardinal de Richlieu's head, had hardly been able to unravel them. The Duke of Orleans saw the consequence of this confusion; and speaking of it one day to me as we were walking in his own garden, || he pressed me to represent it to the Cardinal. I excused myself, by telling the duke that he knew as well as I, that there was between the Cardinal and me nothing but a fair outside. I advised him to make use of the Mareschals d'Estrées and de Senneterre to try whether they could open his eyes upon that affair. The duke found these two gentlemen, though they were both much devoted to the court, in the same sentiments with him; and even Senneterre, hearing with pleasure from the Duke's own mouth that I was of the same mind, and that most sincerely and with the best intentions, he undertook to

\* A sort of ornament used formerly below the knee, which Moliere ridicules, when he says:

De ces larges canons où, comme en des entraves,  
On met tous les matins ses deux jambes esclaves.

† Caesar d'Estrées, then Abbot de Longpont, &c. and made a Cardinal in 1671.

‡ Two famous ministers of state in Henry IV. and in Lewis XIII's time.

|| The French says, in the garden of Luxemburgh, because the Duke of Orleans's palace was formerly the Hôtel de Luxemburgh, which name it still preserves.

to reconcile me privately to the Cardinal, there having been as yet no open rupture between him and me. Senneterre spoke to me about it, and found me very well disposed, because I foresaw that our division would quickly increase the Prince of Condé's party, and would bring things into a confusion that would exclude all manner of good conduct, for want of time to deliberate and to come to a determination. I went therefore with Mr. de Senneterre to the Cardinal, who embraced me tenderly. He laid his heart down upon the table, (that was the expression he commonly used) and he assured me that he would speak to me as to his own son. I did not believe a word of it. I assured him, on my side, that I would speak to him as to my own father; and in that I kept my word. I told him that as the only personal concern I had in the world, was to withdraw myself from publick affairs without any gain; so was it by the same reason more my interest than that of any other, to come off of them with dignity and honour; I begged of him to consider my age, which joined to my incapacity, ought to prevent in him any thoughts of jealousy about my aspiring to the first place: as to the tribuneship of the people, I beseeched him to consider that my dignity of Coadjutor was more disgraced by it than honoured, and that necessity only made it tolerable; that he ought therefore to judge that that single consideration would suffice to bring me off from the faction with all possible haste, were I not moved to it by a thousand others, which raised a distaste in me for it at every instant: that as to the cardinalship which might give him some jealousy, I would discover to him sincerely what had been, and what were still, my thoughts about that dignity: that I had foolishly put it into my head that it would be more glorious to bring it down than to possess it; that he was not ignorant that I had let some marks of that chimæra appear when occasion offered; that the Bishop of Agen had cured me of it, both by good reasons, and by acquainting me with the ill success which those that had had that thought before me, had met with; that that circumstance ought to convince him however that my desire of that dignity even from my youngest years had not been over great, and was now but moderate; that I was persuaded that an Archbishop of Paris ought to be in no great fear of obtaining it one time or other; but that I was still more persuaded that the facility of obtaining it in due form, and purely by actions belonging to his profession, would make all other means of procuring it shameful to him; that I should be very sorry to see my purple sullied with one



single drop of the blood that was shed in the civil war, and that I was resolved to get off of whatever was called state-intrigues, before I took any step, or suffered any to be taken, that had the least relation to it; that he knew that for the same reason I would receive neither money nor church preferment, and that I had engaged myself by the publick declarations which I had made on that subject, to serve the Queen without any view of interest; that my reason for persisting in that resolution was the desire I had to leave the publick stage with honour; that I might mind nothing afterwards but the spiritual functions belonging to my office, provided that I might do it with safety; that to that effect I asked no more than the performance of what had been promised me, which would prove even more serviceable to the King than profitable to me; that he knew that from the very next day after the Princes were arrested, he had impowered me to promise the annuitants several things; notwithstanding which I found that means were used underhand to persuade those people that I acted in concert with the court to deceive them; that I was informed that Ondedei had said at a certain time at Mr. Dempus's, that the poor Cardinal was like to have suffered himself to be imposed upon by the Coadjutor, but that care had been taken to open his eyes, and that matters were preparing against me which I little thought of; that I made no doubt but that my access to the Duke of Orleans caused his Eminence some pain, but that he ought to have been informed that I had in no manner courted it, and that I saw the inconveniencies of it. I enlarged much upon this, being the thing the most difficult to be comprehended by a man used to the court; these sort of men valuing favour at such a rate, that even experience itself cannot take away from their thoughts but that all manner of consideration consists in it. The conversation lasted from three in the afternoon till ten at night, during which time I spoke not one word of which I ought to repent were I upon the point of death. Truth, when it comes to a certain pitch, casts such a light that it is impossible to resist its force. But I never knew a man who respected truth so little as Mazarin. It is certain however that on this occasion he was struck to a degree that surprized Senneterre who was present. This last pressed me to lay hold of this instant to represent to the Cardinal, the dangerous consequences of the commotions in Guienne. I did it, and shewed him that if he continued absolutely bent to support Mr. d'Epernon, the party of the Princes would  
not

not fail of laying hold of that opportunity; that if the parliament of Bourdeaux joined with it, we should by degrees lose that of Paris; that after the great fire that had been in that capital city, though it appeared extinguished, it was impossible but that many coals were still kept burning under the ashes. That the factious would have room enough to make people fear the counter-blow of the punishment intended against a body, for a crime of which the court looked upon us not to have been cleared but for these two or three months. Senneterre supported my opinion with vigour, and we made some impression on the Cardinal, who had been informed the day before that the Duke de Bouillon began to stir in the Limousin, where Mr. de la Rochefoucault had joined him with some forces; that he had beat up, at Brives, Prince Thomas of Savoy's company of gens-d'armes, and had attempted to do the like by the troops that were in Tullés. This news obliged the Cardinal to reflect on what we had said; he appeared to us less obstinate; and the Marechal d'Estrées, who saw him a quarter of an hour after we were gone, told us both the next morning that the Cardinal was convinced of my honesty and of my sincerity, and that he had several times repeated these words: 'That gentleman desires in the main the good of the state.' This disposition in the Cardinal gave occasion to messieurs d'Estrées and de Senneterre, though in other respects very corrupted, to think of finding out means to unite me to the Cardinal in a most intimate manner, their great age inclining them to seek their private quiet in that of the publick. They proposed to him for that purpose the marriage of his nephew with my niece. He appeared as forward in promoting it, as I did in preventing it, not being able to bear to see my house confounded and lost in that of Mazarin, and not valuing greatness enough to incur the publick hatred for the purchasing of it. My answer to the two intermeddlers \* was in the negative, but withal very civil; and as they would have no falling out between the Cardinal and me, they gave such a colour to my refusal that it was heard without anger. They did more, for having got out of me the great desire I had to be employed in bringing about a general peace, they worked so well with the Cardinal, whose enthusiastick fit for me lasted for twelve

\* In the French, to the *wasfer-men*, a nick-name given to these two gentlemen, because they went about their negotiations much at that time of night that *wasfers* are cried at Paris.

twelve. or fifteen days, that he promised me of himself, and with the best grace possible, that I should be employed in it.

The Marechal d'Estrées made use very artfully of this good interval, for the restoring Mr. de Chateauneuf \* to the post of Lord-keeper, which Cardinal Richlieu had taken away from him. † He had afterwards been kept prisoner for thirteen years in the castle of Angoulême. That man had been for a long time in employments wherein he had got a great deal of reputation, and that reputation received even a great lustre from his long disgrace. He was a near relation of the Marechal de Villeroy's. His quarrels with Cardinal Richlieu had brought Jars, ‡ commander of Malthe, to the scaffold at Troyes. He had been seen among the lovers of Madam de Chevreuse, and not without success. He was at that time seventy-two years old, but his strong and vigorous state of health, his splendid way of living, his perfect disinterestedness in things that were not of great moment, and his blunt and wild humour, which had an air of frankness, made amends for his old age, and made him be looked upon as a man not yet unfit for business. The Marechal d'Estrées perceiving that the Cardinal had a mind to reconcile himself to the publick, by bringing the affairs of Bourdeaux to an accommodation, and by restoring order in the town-house rents, made use, as I have said, of this enthusiastick fit, which he foresaw would not last long, to persuade him that he ought to crown the work, by the degradation of the Chancellor, § odious to, or rather despised by the publick, for his natural inclination to servitude which eclipsed the great capacity

\* Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Chateauneuf.

† In 1633.

‡ He had his pardon granted him as he was upon the scaffold ready to be executed; and one of his judges magnifying to him the King's clemency, and exhorting him to discover what he knew of the pretended intrigues of M. de Chateauneuf: 'I perceive your low and wretched artifices (answered Jars with a great deal of courage;) you think to draw an advantage from the fear of death you have put me in. But learn to know your men better. I am as much master of myself as I have ever been. M. de Chateauneuf is a man of honour, and who has well served the King. I always reckoned him such, but if I knew any thing to the contrary I should never discover a friend's secret.' See M. le Vassor's history of Lewis XIII.

§ Seguier.



city that he had for that employment ; and by the installation of Mr. de Chateauneuf, whose name alone would honour his choice. I was never more surprized than when the Marechal d'Estrées came to acquaint Mr. de Bellievre and me of the likelihood he saw of bringing that change about. I knew Mr. de Chateauneuf only by repute, but it could not enter into my head that the jealousy of an Italian would ever suffer him to bring upon the stage a man so well cut out for the ministry ; but my surprize, which had no other cause than this, was interpreted by the marechal as proceeding from the fears I had that Chateauneuf might be equally well cut out for a Cardinal. He took no notice of it to me, but he spoke of it in the evening to the President de Bellievre, who knowing my intentions, gave him many assurances of the contrary. The Marechal did not believe him, and to prevent my exposing his friend's restoration, which was the thing he feared, he brought me a letter from him wherein he assured me never to think of the Cardinal's cap till I had it for myself. Imagine if you can what my surprize was at my reading a compliment of this nature, which I had in no manner deserved. But at every word I said on that score, the Marechal spoke twenty to give it a greater lustre. That compliment was repeated in my behalf, to Madam de Chevreuse, to Noirmortier, to Laigues, and to twelve or fifteen more. In this manner did old Chateauneuf make use of every body's help, which no body refused him. The Cardinal made him Lord-keeper, but not with an intent to crown thereby the two great designs of accommodating the affairs in Guienne, and of restoring order in the town-house rents. It was on the contrary to authorize by a name of reputation, the quite opposite conduct which he resolved to take at the instigation of the subalterns, who feared above all things our re-union ; that conduct was to push the parliament of Bourdeaux, and to bring at Paris the Frondeurs into discredit. The Cardinal besides thought that Chateauneuf's name would serve to take off in some measure with the publick the bad impression which they had received for his bestowing the superintendency of the finances, which was become vacant by the death of Emery, on the President de Maisons, whose probity was less than doubtful. In fine, he was glad to have in Chateauneuf a rival of note to oppose me, in case of need, about the Cardinalship. Senneterre, though devoted to the court and even to the Cardinal, said these very words to me concerning him : ' That man will ruin himself, and perhaps the state, for the sake of Mr. de Candale.'

The

The day on which Senneterre pronounced that oracle, the news came that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucaut had carried safe into Bourdeaux the Princess of Condé and the young Duke her son, whom the Cardinal had left in her hands, instead of causing him to be brought up near the King, as Servien had advised it. The parliament of Bourdeaux of which the wisest and oldest members used at that time to venture merrily at play at a sitting all that they were worth, without any hurt to their reputation, had in that same year two pretty extraordinary spectacles. They saw a Prince and a Princess of the blood kneeling at their board, and imploring their justice; and they saw upon that same board a consecrated host which some soldiers of Mr. de Epernon's troops had let fall out of its \* *pix*, which they had stolen, and which the parliament had been mad enough, if one may speak in that manner of such a body, to expose to the publick view.

That parliament was not sorry that the people had given the young Duke an entrance into their city, but they preserved however a greater respect for the court, than could have been expected from their climate, and the humour they were in against Mr. d'Epernon. They ordered that the Princess of Condé, the Duke her son, with messieurs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucaut, should have leave given them to stay at Bourdeaux, provided that they would give their word to attempt nothing there against the King's service, and that in the mean time the Princess of Condé's petition should be sent to his majesty, with the parliament of Bourdeaux's humble remonstrances touching the detention of the Princes. The President de Gournes sent an express to Senneterre who was his friend, with a letter in cypher of thirteen sides, importing that his parliament was not in so great a heat, but that they would keep firm to their loyalty, if the King would recall Mr. d'Epernon; that he engaged his word for it; that all that they had hitherto done, was but to that intent; but that if the King delayed to grant it, he would no longer be answerable for the company, and much less so for the people, who being managed and supported by the party of the Princes, would in a little time become even masters of the parliament. Senneterre neglected nothing to oblige the Cardinal to hearken to this advice. Mr. de Chateaufort did wonders in it, and finding that the Cardinal answered his reasons only by exclaiming at the insolence

\* *The vessel in which the consecrated hosts are kept.*

lence of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, for harbouring persons condemned by the King's declaration; he bluntly said to him: 'Depart from hence to-morrow, Sir, if you do not resolve to come to-day to an accommodation: you ought to be already upon the Garonne.' The event justified Mr. de Chateaufort's advice for coming to softer terms, and shewed that it had been best not to press so much the execution of the intended project. For though the heat of the parliament of Bourdeaux was excessive, they resisted however for a long time the people's rage which was stirred up by Mr. de Bouillon, and they gave an arrest to oblige Don Joseph Osorio (who was come from Spain with messieurs de Sillery and de Vassé, whom Mr. de Bouillon had sent thither) to leave their town. They went still further, for they forbade that any of their members should visit any one of those that had held intelligence with the Spaniards, from which number the Princess of Condé herself was not excepted. The mob having undertaken to force them to vote for an union with the Princes, they armed their Jurats, \* who by firing some musquets made the mob retire. This resistance of the parliament of Bourdeaux has been looked upon by most people as a thing dissembled, but Mr. de Bouillon has many times since affirmed the truth of it to me, telling me that if the court had not pushed on matters as it did, the parliament of Bourdeaux had hardly been brought to the measures into which they came. What is most certain, is, that they believed at court that all that that parliament did was nothing but grimace; that at the coming back from Compiègne, where the King went during the siege of Guise, to give by his presence the more life to his army, commanded by the Marechal du Plessis-Praslin, it was resolved to go into Guienne; that those that represented the ill consequences of that enterprize passed for factious men, that were unwilling that an example should be made of those that resembled them, and with whom they kept a correspondence; that all that was said of what would quickly follow in the parliament of Paris, and of the influence which the enterprize against Bourdeaux would immediately have upon that body, passed for a fable, or at least for the prediction of the evil, which those that spoke in that manner intended, though it would not be in their power to bring it about; and that when the Duke of Orleans offered to go in person to Bourdeaux, to

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bring

\* The name given at Bourdeaux and other towns in Guienne to their Consuls and their Echevins.



bring the accommodation about, provided that the court would engage to revoke Mr. d'Epemon, all the answer which he received was, that the King was obliged in honour to maintain him in that government.

I have already told you that the Cardinal's tenderness for me lasted but a little while. Senneterre, who was naturally a great patcher in these cases, would not let the court go, without anointing a little, he said, a sore, purely occasioned by a misunderstanding. The truth is that the Cardinal had no reason to complain of me, and that I was unwilling to complain of him, though I had reason enough for it. It is easier for those that are in this last disposition to be reconciled, than for those that are inclined to complain without cause. I experienced it in this occasion. Senneterre told the first President, that a word which the Queen had said to the Cardinal, in praise of my steadiness, had made an impression upon him that nothing would ever take off. He expressed however all manner of friendship for me before his departure for Guienne. He even affected to leave me the choice of a Prevost des Marchands, which appeared very civil, but in the main was very cunning in him; having found the last which was of his own chusing, unserviceable to him. That very same day however, he did what he could to set Mr. de Beaufort and me at variance, upon particulars where it is necessary to resume a little higher.

You have seen that the Queen had desired me not to discover to Mr. de Beaufort the design she had to arrest the Princes. The day that it was executed, which was about six in the evening, Madam de Chevreuse sent for Mr. de Beaufort and me about noon, and discovered to us the matter as a great secret, which the Queen as she came from mass had ordered her to impart to us. What she said passed for current with Mr. de Beaufort; I carried him to dine with me, where I amused him all the afternoon in playing at chess; I hindered his going to Madam de Montbazon's, and the Princes were arrested before she had the least suspicion of it. She was angry at it, and said to Mr. de Beaufort all that might make him see that he had been made a fool of. He complained of it to me, and I had an éclaircissement with him about it in that lady's presence: I took out of my pocket the patent about the admiralty: he embraced me; Madam de Montbazon kissed me five or six times very tenderly; and in this manner did the fray end.

The Cardinal was so kind as to remember this quarrel two or three days before he went for Bourdeaux. He expressed

pressed a wonderful friendship for Madam de Montbazon, he trusted her with secrets extraordinary in their kind, and after many windings and turnings, he came to the main point, which was to mention with the greatest regret the pain he was put to when he was obliged, at the instances of Madam de Chevreuse and of the Coadjutor, to hide from her the design of imprisoning the Princes. Mr. de Beaufort, whom the President de Bellievre had convinced that that pretended confidence of the Cardinal's was nothing but an artifice, said to me in the presence of Madam de Montbazon: 'Be upon your guard: I will lay a wager that Mademoiselle de Chevreuse will quickly be made use of to set us together by the ears.'

The King went for Guienne in the beginning of July. Mazarin who accompanied him, had learnt before his leaving Paris, that the noise of that journey had produced beforehand what had been foretold to him: that the parliament of Bourdeaux had granted an union with the Princes, and had sent a deputy to the parliament of Paris; that that deputy was ordered to see neither the King nor the ministers; that messieurs de la Force \* and de St. Simon † were upon the point of declaring (they did not persist in that resolution;) and that the whole province was ready to rise up in arms. The Cardinal's consternation was extreme. He recommended himself to the lowest among the Frondeurs, and that with a meanness which I cannot represent. The Duke of Orleans staid at Paris, having the command left in his hands, with Mr. le Tellier as an inspector over him. The Lord-keeper and the first President were of the privy-council. I was offered a place there, but I thought not fit to accept of it. Every body there without exception found themselves extremely puzzled, and so were we all, because we were left in a state wherein it was impossible to take one step without stumbling one way or other. You shall have the particulars after I have spoken one word of the journey into Guienne.

As soon as the King came near that province, Mr. de St. Simon, Governor of Blaye, who had been wavering, came to court; and Mr. de la Force, who had been in treaty with Mr. de Bouillon, remained unactive; but Dognon, ‡ who

\* *Armand Nompar de Caumont Duke de la Force, made Marechal of France in 1652.*

† *Claude, Duke de St. Simon; he had been a favourite to Lewis XIII.*

‡ *Lewis Foucaut, Count du Dognon, made Marechal of France in 1653.*

who commanded in Brouage, and who owed all his fortune to the late Duke de Brezé, excused himself from coming to court under pretence of the gout. The deputies of the parliament of Bourdeaux came to meet the court at Libourne. They were commanded in a lofty tone to open the city-gates for the King to enter at with his troops. They answered that one of their privileges was to guard the person of their Kings when they were in their city. The Marechal de Meilleraye advanced between the Dordogne and the Garonne: he took the castle of Vaire, where Pichon commanded 300 men for those of Bourdeaux, and the Cardinal caused him to be hanged at Libourne very near the King's lodgings. Mr. de Bouillon for a reprisal ordered an officer of Mr. de la Meilleraye's army, named Canolle, † to be likewise hanged. The Marechal de la Meilleraye attacked afterwards the island of St. George, which was but ill defended by la Mothe de Las: the Chevalier de la Valette was mortally wounded on this occasion. After this he besieged Bourdeaux in form, and after a great fight he made himself master of the suburb of St. Surin, where St. Mesgrin and Roquelaure, both Lieutenant-generals in the King's army, behaved themselves very well. Mr. de Bouillon left nothing undone of what might be expected from a wise politician and a great general. Mr. de la Rochefoucault signalized himself during all this siege, and particularly at the defending a half-moon, where the slaughter was great, but they were at last forced to yield to the strongest.

The parliament and the people there, seeing no succour coming from Spain, obliged their generals to capitulate, or rather to make a kind of a peace. Gourville ‡ came from the besieged to Bourg, where the court was advanced, and he, together with the deputies of the parliament, agreed to the following conditions: ' That a general amnesty should be granted to all, without exception, that had taken up arms, and negotiated with Spain; that all soldiers should be disbanded, except those which the King should please to take into pay; that the Princess of Condé, with the Duke her son, should reside either in Anjou at one of her houses, or at Mouzon; but in case she chose this last place, which  
' was

† He was playing at cards with some ladies of the town, when he was acquainted that he must prepare to die immediately.

‡ He had the management of the family of the Prince of Condé.



was fortified, she should keep there not above 200 foot and 60 horse; that Mr. d'Epemon should be revoked from his government of Guienne.

The Princess of Condé saw the King and the Queen-mother, and in this interview there were great conferences held by Messieurs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault with the Cardinal. What obliged this last, at least as it was believed, not to pursue too obstinately the bringing those of Bourdeaux to a greater and more entire reduction, was his extreme impatience of coming back to Paris, of which I am now going to tell you the reasons.

The noise of the cannon-balls intended against Bourdeaux, had reached Paris even before the cannons were fired. No sooner was the King upon that expedition, but Voisin, a Counsellor of the parliament of Bourdeaux and their deputy, demanded audience of that of Paris. The Duke of Orleans was desired to come and take his seat there: and as I was informed that the sight of this deputy would occasion a great heat, I told his Royal Highness, that I thought it proper for him to concert matters with the Lord-keeper Chateauneuf, and with le Tellier. He sent for them at that instant, and he commanded me to stay with them in the closet. The Lord-keeper could not, or would not imagine that it was possible for the parliament of Paris even to think of deliberating upon such a proposal as that of hearing the deputy. I looked upon his confidence as an effect of the pride of a minister used to Cardinal Richlieu's days, but you will see that it proceeded from another cause. When I perceived that Mr. le Tellier, who was now out of school, spoke in the same strain, I became more moderate than I had been, and I seemed to be moved at what they both said. The Duke of Orleans, who knew the state of things better, growing angry at me for yielding, I proposed to him to have the first President's thoughts upon it. He sent immediately le Tellier to him, who at his coming back appeared convinced that my first opinion was right, and he told the Duke frankly, that the first President did not doubt but that all the voices in the parliament would be for the hearing the deputy's proposals. You must observe, that when the parliament of Paris had sent to the King at his leaving that city; to receive his orders, the Lord-keeper had told the deputies, that the man, who pretended to have been sent by the parliament of Bourdeaux, was not sent by that body, but only by a parcel of seditious people.

It

It proved the next day that the first President's opinion was right. The Duke of Orleans said in vain to the parliament, that the King had ordered Mr. d'Epernon to come away from Guienne, and to meet him upon the way with a design to treat affairs with lenity, and to act rather the part of a Father than of a King. Notwithstanding what he said, there were not ten votes against the hearing the deputy. He was immediately called in, and he presented to the company the letter from the parliament of Bourdeaux. He spoke, and did it eloquently, and he laid upon the table the arrests put out by his company, ending his speech by demanding an union with theirs.

This affair took up two or three days time. They voted at last, that what the Duke of Orleans had said, touching the King's order sent to Mr. d'Epernon, should be registered in their books; that the deputy from Bourdeaux should deliver his credentials in writing, which should be presented to the King by the deputies whom the parliament of Paris was to send for that purpose, who at the same time were to beg most humbly of the Queen-mother to grant peace to Guienne. The deliberation was modest enough, and without any great heat. But yet those who were acquainted with this company, saw clearly by their countenance rather than their words, that the parliament of Paris was unwilling to see that of Bourdeaux ruined. As I was coming back with the Duke of Orleans in his coach, he said to me: 'The Cardinal's flatterers will send him word that all goes well, and I do not know whether it had not been better that a greater heat had appeared on this occasion.' He guessed right: for the Lord-Keeper told me afterwards, that what the first President had said to le Tellier the day before, proceeded only from the passion he had to set a great value on himself upon the least occasion. He wronged in that the first President, for that was not at all his foible.

The Lord-keeper committed that same day a more considerable fault. The parliament of Bourdeaux complained in their letter of the violences of Foulai, Master of Requests, and Intendant of Justice in the Limousin, and the company ordered Foulai to be heard upon that article. The Lord-keeper thought that the King's authority required that he should be supported, at least indirectly. He therefore caused Menardeau, a Counsellor of the grand-chamber, and an able man, but in disrepute for his Mazarinianism, to amuse the

\* The French mentions something of the disputes, but very imperfectly.

the chambers about some disputes between Old Broussel and himself, which took up their time for five or six days. The Duke of Orleans being informed that the President de Gourgues was arrived at Paris with a Counsellor of Bourdeaux named Guyonnet, who was sent by his company as chief of their deputation, was desirous to see him, being advised to it by le Tellier, who knew better than any body that belonged to the court, of what consequence the commotions in Guienne were. I fancied to myself (for I never knew the truth of it) that he had received some secret orders from the court, which were a ground for him to advise the Duke in the manner which I am going to relate; for considering his humour, I doubt whether he had been bold enough to dare to do it of his own accord, though he said he did, but that I refer to the fact itself. He told the Duke that his advice was, that he should the very next day assure the deputies from Bourdeaux, that the King had sent to Mr. d'Epemon at Loches, that the government of Guienne should be taken out of his hands to satisfy the people; that a general amnesty should be granted to messieurs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucault; that he should desire the deputies to send these proposals to their company, with an assurance from him that he would go to court in person if they required it, to treat about them. The Duke ordered me to go in his name to confer with the first President, who was so glad to hear this that he embraced me, not doubting, any more than I, but that the Cardinal would be obliged, by the obstacles he met with in Guienne, to consent that these proposals should be made by the Duke, thereby to cover both his imprudence and his levity. The first President seemed fully persuaded that this would bring the parliament to a much better temper, and being informed, that the Duke had made his proposals to the deputies, he sent the King's council to the Chambers of Inquest, to tell them in his Royal Highness's name, that they had received orders from him that morning, to acquaint the company that it was unnecessary for them to assemble, because he was in treaty with the deputies of the parliament of Bourdeaux. This manner of proceeding displeased the Inquests; they came into the grand-chamber, and went in a hurry to their seats, and their eldest President addressed himself to the first President, saying that it was against order to have messages sent to the chambers by the King's council, and that when there was any thing to propose, it ought to be done in a full assembly of the parliament. The first President being surprized in this manner, could not refuse the assembly: All that he was able to do



do was to put it off till the next day, taking the absence of the Duke of Orleans for his pretence, it being not only disrespectful, but even impossible to debate without him upon a proposal which himself had made.

There happened a scene at night at his Royal Highness's, that deserves your attention. He assembled at his palace, the Lord-keeper, Mr. le Tellier, Mr. de Beaufort, and me, to know our opinion upon the manner in which he was to behave himself the next day in the parliament. The Lord-keeper began his speech by maintaining that the Duke ought either to forbid the Assembly of the Chambers, or to forbear going thither, or at least to stay there but a moment, and after having declared his intentions to the company, to come away if he met with the least opposition. That opinion, which, if followed, had brought, in half a quarter of an hour, the whole parliament to side with the Princes, was not at all approved of, but it was contradicted only by Mr. de Beaufort and me, because Mr. le Tellier, who saw the ridicule of it as much as we did, would oppose it but faintly, that he might leave the dispute to grow warm between the Lord-keeper and me, whom he was very glad to set at variance, and because he was willing to make thereby his court to the Cardinal, by letting him see that he embraced for his service the most vigorous resolutions. I took notice in this same conversation, that the Lord-keeper mixed with his blunt humour and his old maxims, an artful design of making likewise his court at my expence, and of letting the Queen see that he parted from the Frondeurs when the Royal authority was questioned. I saw at the same time, that in resisting their sentiments, I gave room both to them, and to all others that sought to please the court, to represent me as a man of dangerous spirit, that was caballing with the Duke to alienate him from the rest, and who kept intelligence with the rebels at Bourdeaux. I considered on the other side, that if the Duke followed their advice, he would put, in a few weeks, the parliament of Paris into the Prince of Condé's hands; that the Duke himself, whose weakness I knew, would do the like, as soon as he saw the publick incline that way; that the Cardinal himself might possibly follow the same steps; so that either way I must run the risque of being undone by the faults of others; or by dissenting from their opinion, I must incur the court's distrust and hatred, and by assenting to it, I must bring upon myself the publick averfion, and the shame of the ill success. All the remedy which I could find to this, was to refer it to the judgment of the first President.

Mr.

Mr. le Tellier went to him in the Duke's name, and brought word from him that all was undone, if the parliament was not industriously managed, at a time when the party for the Princes used all manner of means to bring apprehensions into the minds of people, for the ill consequence which the loss of Bourdeaux would have.

At Mr. le Tellier's return, I was more persuaded than before, that the complaisance he had shewed for the Lord-keeper proceeded only from the causes which I have mentioned. For as soon as he had said enough to serve him for a ground to write word to court, that it was not his fault that they had not done wonders, and that he had set the Lord-keeper and me together by the ears, he came back to my opinion, under pretence of submitting to that of the first President, with such haste, that it was observed by the Duke, and that obliged him to tell me that evening, that le Tellier had at the bottom never been of any other opinion than mine.

The Duke proposed the next day to the parliament the offers which he had made to the deputies of Bourdeaux, adding, that he gave only ten days time for the accepting of them, after which he would reckon himself free from his engagement. You see, without doubt, that Mr. le Tellier durst never, not only have advised all this himself, but even have consented to it, if he had not had a very positive order about it from the Cardinal; and you will see more easily still, the importance of well-timing proposals. That for the removal of Mr. d'Epernon had disarmed Guienne perhaps for ever, and had silenced the Prince of Condé's partisans in the parliament of Paris, if it had been made there one week only before the King left Paris, which was in the beginning of July; but it was not reckoned for much upon the 8th and 9th of August, and all that they did about it, was to order that the President le Bailleul and the other deputies of the parliament that were sent to the court, should be acquainted with it; and though the Duke of Orleans threatened to retire at every instant if they mixed in their opinions any thing foreign to the matter in question, that did not hinder but that many speeches concluded for the demanding of the Queen the enlargement of the Princes, and the removal of Cardinal Mazarin. The President Viole, a passionate partisan of the Prince of Condé's, opened that advice, not with any hopes that it would pass, for he knew that we had still the majority of our side, but with a design to reap some advantage from it, by puzzling Mr. de Beaufort and me in a matter on which we cared by no means to explain ourselves, and yet in which  
we

we could not remain silent, without being looked upon in some sort as Mazarinians. The President Viole served the Prince admirably well on this occasion, in which Bourdet, a very brave man who had been Captain of the guards, and who had since stuck close to the Prince, did a thing which succeeded not, but which gave however a mighty boldness to that party. He took a mason's habit, and with eighty officers of the Prince's troops, who were secretly got into Paris, and with some mob which he had gathered together by giving them money, he came directly to the Duke of Orleans, whom he met in the middle of the hall as he was coming away, crying to him, *No Mazarin: Long live the Prince!* The Duke at this sight, and upon the hearing two pistols that were fired by Bourdet at the same time, turned hastily back, and ran most courageously to hide himself in the grand-chamber, whatever efforts Mr. de Beaufort and I could make to prevent his flight. I was struck with a poniard upon my rochet, but Mr. de Beaufort standing his ground with the Duke's guards, and what men we had with us, repulsed Bourdet, and forced him down the palace stairs. There were two of the Duke's guards killed in this encounter.

The clutter of the grand-chamber was something of a more dangerous nature. The chambers assembled almost every day there, about the affair of Foulai, which I have mentioned, and no assembly passed without giving some brushes to the Cardinal, nor without seeing those of the Prince of Condé's party diverting themselves two or three times in a day, in shewing us in a light that made us be looked upon as persons that were in perfect union with that minister. What is most to be admired, is, that at that very time Mazarin and his adherents accused us of holding intelligence with the parliament of Bourdeaux, because we affirmed, that by not coming to an accommodation with them, we should infallibly bring that of Paris to side with the Prince. Mr. le Tellier saw it as plainly as we, and, as he often told us, writ about it every day to the court; but I dare not warrant this for truth. The grand Prevost, who was with the court, told me at their return, that to his certain knowledge le Tellier was sincere in it. Lionne \* has since assured me to the contrary, and that when le Tellier pressed for the coming back of the King to Paris, it was for the preventing, as he said, the cabals which I was making there against his service. If I was at the point of death I would not make that an article of my confession.

I acted

\* *Hugh de Lionne, Marquis de Berni, Secretary of State.*



I acted at that time with the same sincerity, as if I had been one of Mazarin's nephews. It was not however for his sake that I did so, but I thought myself obliged in prudence to oppose the progress which the Prince's faction was making, by the ill conduct of those of the opposite party; and to do it with success, I found myself necessitated to withstand with as much care the flattery of the Cardinal's dependants, as the efforts of the Prince's party.

The President le Bailleur came back from court upon the third of September with the other deputies. He made his report to the Parliament of what they had done; of which the substance was, 'That the Queen thanked the company for the sentiments they had expressed, and that they were ordered to assure them in her name that she was very much inclined to grant a peace to Guienne, which had already been done if Mr. de Bouillon, who had treated with the Spaniards, had not made himself master of Bourdeaux, and prevented the effects of the King's goodness.'

The deputies of the Parliament of Bourdeaux were admitted at the same time, and they made their complaints in form about the shortness of the time allowed to the deputies whom this company had sent to court, who were not suffered so much as to stay two days at Libourne, and who were kept three whole days at Angoulême without receiving any answer, so that they had been obliged to come back no better informed than they were when they left Paris. This had been enough to have produced a mighty noise in the company, if the Duke of Orleans, who had foreseen it, had not very prudently undertook to stifle this noise by one that was greater, which he did by acquainting the Parliament that he had received a letter from the Arch-duke, importing, that the King of Spain having sent him a full power to conclude the peace, he passionately desired to enter into a treaty with him about it. The Duke added, that he would not answer this letter until he had the company's advice upon it. This small rain abated the wind that began to blow, and it was resolved to assemble on the Monday following, to deliberate on a Proposal of that importance.

This letter had been curiously examined in the Duke's closet the day before he brought it to the Parliament; and it was agreed, that in all likelihood the Spaniards were not sincere in their proposals. They had newly taken la Capelle. Mr. de Turenne had joined them with all the officers and forces of the Prince's which he could gather together. The Marechal du

du Pleffis, who commanded our army, was not in a condition to withstand them. The trumpeter that brought the letter, which was dated from their camp at Bazoches near Rheims, sounded a parley at the Croix du tiroir, holding there some very seditious language to the people. The next day five or six placarts were found affixed in several places in the name of Mr. de Turenne, wherein he declared, that the Arch-duke was marching with a mind intent only upon peace; in one of which placarts the following words were writ: 'It is your task, people of Paris, to solicit your pretended tribunes, who are at last become Mazarin's pensionaries and his protectors; who have for this long time made a plaything of you and of your fortunes; and who have sometimes stirred you up, sometimes slackened you, sometimes pushed you on, sometimes kept you back, as they were moved to it either by their caprice, or the different success of their ambition.'

You see the state in which the Frondeurs were, at a juncture of time, when they could not take one step but to their disadvantage. The Duke spoke to me, in the Evening, of the Cardinal with the greatest animosity, a thing which he had never done before. He said, 'That he believed it was by his order that le Tellier had advised him to take the step he had done, with a view to discredit him; that such an extravagance could not be purely the effect of imprudence, and that it must have been done with an ill intent; that he would discover a secret to me which he had never spoke plainly of before; that the Cardinal had in his life-time done him two horrible pieces of treachery, one of which he would never open himself about to any body. The other was, that in his accommodation with the Prince of Condé about \* Pont-de-l'Arche, it was expressly mentioned, that if it happened that that Prince should have any falling out with him (the Duke of Orleans) he would declare in favour of the Prince, without whose consent he promised further to marry none of his Nieces.' The Duke added two or three other Clauses, which I have forgot, as endearing as these were. He said likewise many reproachful things against la Riviere, who betrayed him he said to the two others, and who indeed betrayed them all three. He afterwards continued to rail at the Cardinal, and went so far as to say, that he would ruin the

\* A town in Normandy.

the state, and all of us, as well as himself; and that he would bring the Prince to be as great as before.

I can assure you, that if I had been willing that day to push the Duke on, it had been no difficult matter for me to bring him into measures, little favourable to the court. But I thought myself obliged to act a contrary part, because the least sign of discontent which the Duke had shewn, might have kept the court from coming back to Paris, and perhaps have engaged the Minister to come to an agreement with the Prince. I told the Duke, that I did not undertake to excuse the Cardinal's proceeding, which I thought unjustifiable; but that at the same time I was persuaded that it did not come from so ill a principle as that which he imagined; that the Cardinal finding that the King's presence had not produced at Bourdeaux the effect which was expected; his first design, as I believed, had been to think seriously of an accommodation; and that he had thereupon sent his orders to le Tellier; but that finding since that what the Spaniards did towards succouring that place, fell much short of what he had reason to fear, he changed his resolution, with a view and in hopes to reduce it; that my excusing him as I did tended in no manner towards making his panegyrick; but that I thought however that a great difference ought to be made betwixt a fault of this nature, and that of which his Royal Highness suspected him. In this manner did I begin the Cardinal's apology. I continued it by saying what the best of his friends could have done in his defence; and I finished my discourse by explaining the maxim that advises us, *not to be so much offended at our friend's faults, as to give thereby an advantage to those against whom we are acting.* This last consideration touched the Duke, who coming immediately to himself, said to me, 'I own to you that it is not yet time to bring down Mazarin.' I observed these words, which I repeated in the evening to the President de Bellievre; upon which he said, 'Let us be vigilant, this man may slip through our fingers at every instant.'

At the time that this conversation with the Duke was just ending, the Lord-Keeper came in, and was followed by the first President, Mr. d'Avaux, the President le Coigneux the father, and that of Bellievre, whom he had all sent for, Mr. le Tellier coming likewise into the chamber with them. His Royal Highness not being yet recovered from the passion which he had been in against the Cardinal, and his first word to le Tellier being a reproach in relation to the step in which he had engaged him, and wherein he had been so ill seconded  
by



by the Cardinal, the whole company who had found me alone with him, made no doubt but that it was I that had put him in this heat; and though I joined very sincerely with those that begged of him to suspend his judgment before he complained, and to stay for the return of Du Coudrai Montpensier, whom he had sent to the court and to Bourdeaux in relation to the offers which he had made at the instigation of le Tellier; no body, except the President de Bellievre, who knew my thoughts, doubted but what I said was all counterfeit. What made it still the more believed, were the signs which I now and then made to the Duke to put him in mind of what he had just then owned to me, that it was not yet time to shew his resentment against Mazarin. These signs were explained in a contrary sense, because the Duke did not mind them at first, but continued for some time to exclaim against him; so that when he began to speak with more temper, they fancied that their reasons had at last carried it with him against the violence of my counsels, and that same night they informed the court of it, with praise enough to themselves. Madam de Lesdiguières shewed me, a fortnight or three weeks after, a relation of it very artfully written, but full of very malicious circumstances; but she would not tell me who she had it from: she only protested to me that it did not come from the Marechal de Villeroi. I fancied that she had it of Vardes, \* who at that time was a little smitten with her.

Mr. de Beaufort arrived at that instant, and being weary to hear, among the usual applauses given us, some reproaches about our union with Mazarin, he told Mr. le Tellier, pretty bluntly, that he did not conceive why the Cardinal had affected to receive the deputies of the parliament of Paris in the manner he had done; that being the surest way to bring the whole Parliament into the interest of the Princes. I feared the impetuosity of Mr. de Beaufort's eloquence, which made me willing to say something that might temper it; upon which the Lord-Keeper whispered these words into the first President's ear: 'We have here the good and the bad soldier.' Ornano, † master of the Duke's wardrobe, who heard them, repeated them to me a quarter of an hour after.

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\* *Francis René du Bec, Marquis de Vardes.*

† *Joseph-Charles, son to Alfonso Corse d'Ornano, Marechal of France, and the Duke of Orleans's great confidant.*

The rest of the evening did not mend what fortune seemed to take a delight to spoil. The Arch-duke's letter was spoken of, upon which the first President gave his opinion boldly, before it was asked. 'We must,' said he, 'take it for sincere, as perhaps it is. But if it be otherwise, it is of importance to let both Frenchmen and foreigners see the artifice of it.' You will own that a wise and a good man could be of no other opinion; and yet the Lord-keeper opposed it with a violence, which he carried even to brutality, maintaining, that the respect due to sovereign power obliged the Duke to give no answer to it, but to refer it wholly to the Queen. Le Tellier, who knew as well as we that the taking that step would give the favourers of the Princes an opportunity of casting upon us the blame of breaking the general peace, because it was publicly known that the Cardinal had broke that of Munster; supported the Lord-Keeper's opinion but just as much as was necessary to set us still at a greater variance. He had no sooner done that, but he did as he had done before, that is, he came over to Mr. d'Avaux's \* opinion, which was stronger than the first President's and mine. For we had only proposed that the Duke should answer the Arch-duke's letter, and should acquaint him only in general terms, that he had received his offers with joy, and that he desired him to let him know more particularly his intentions about the manner of treating. But Mr. d'Avaux maintained, that the Duke ought to dispatch the next day a gentleman with proposals of his own about it to the Arch-duke, 'which will,' said he, 'abridge matters very much,' and will inform the Spaniards that their proposals, which perhaps they make but with an evil intent, 'because they think we are for no peace, may produce a better effect than they themselves imagine.' Mr. le Tellier, in supporting this advice, told the Duke that he might depend upon it that the Queen would not disapprove of these steps; that he begged that his Royal Highness would dispatch an express to her, who would infallibly bring him back a full power to treat, and to conclude a general peace.

The Baron de Verderonne was sent the next day to the Arch-duke, with the Duke of Orlean's answer to his letter, whereby his Royal Highness desired to know what place, what time, and what persons the Spaniards would name about

\* *Claude de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, Plenipotentiary at Munster, afterwards Superintendent of the Finances, and Minister of State.*

about this treaty; assuring the Arch-duke, that at the prefixt time and place he would not fail to send without delay a like number of persons. Just before Verderonne went, some doubts arising in the Duke's head about his answer, of which le Tellier had had the wording, he sent for the same persons that were with him the day before, and had the letter read to us all. The first President having observed that the Duke made no answer to the article wherein the Arch-duke proposed to treat with him in person, he whispered it to me, and added: 'I do not know whether I ought to take notice of this omission.' Mr. d'Avaux gave him no time to do it, for he spoke of it, and even with vehemence. Mr. le Tellier excused himself, by saying that they had, the day before, determined nothing precisely about it. Mr. d'Avaux insisted upon the answering that clause as a thing altogether necessary. The first President joined with him, and messieurs le Coigneux and de Bellievre did the like. The Lord-keeper and le Tellier asserted that the Duke could not agree to a personal meeting with the Arch-duke, without express leave, and even without an express command from the King; there being a great difference between a general answer in relation to a treaty of peace, which his royal highness knew would never be refused by the court, and a personal conference of a son of France with a Prince of the house of Austria: the Duke, who was naturally weak, yielded either to le Tellier's reasons, or to the favour he was in at court; and the letter was left as it was before. Mr. d'Avaux, who was a man of great probity, exclaimed against the false Cato, for so he called the Lord-Keeper, and expressed at the same time his satisfaction for my manner of speaking to the Duke on this occasion. We knew one another but little; and Mr. d'Avaux being brother to the President de Mesmes, with whom I was on very ill terms upon account of public affairs, the little acquaintance we had had together before the troubles, was in a manner lost. The sincerity which I used in what I said to the Duke in opposition to le Tellier's sentiments, pleased him, and served as a ground for his entering into talk with me about the peace; for the obtaining of which, I am persuaded that he would very freely have laid down his life. He gave full proofs of it at Munster, where, if the Duke de Longueville had been as firm as he ought, he had given peace to France, notwithstanding the artifices of the minister, with more advantage and with more glory to the crown, than ten battles could have done. He found, in the conversation of which I am now speaking, my sentiments so agreeable



agreeable to his, that he has lov'd me ever since, and has had even several contests with his brothers upon that account.

Verderonne came back, and brought with him Don Gabriel de Toledo, with a letter of the Arch-duke's for the Duke of Orleans, wherein he desired the meeting to be between Rheims and Rhetel, and that the Duke and he should negotiate there in person, with a liberty however to chuse on each side whom they pleased for their assistants. The express sent to court came likewise back, and it looked as if heaven would have blessed that great work, when all the hopes of it vanished away in a most surprizing manner.

The court had been both surprized and vexed at the Arch-duke's proposal, because Servien had certainly altered the Cardinal's mind about a general peace, and because the desire which I had shewn at our last reconciliation, to be one of the plenipotentiaries, made him suspect that I had had a hand in the proposal, and had acted in concert with Mr. de Turenne to oblige the Arch-duke to make it. He durst not however refuse it, being informed by Mr. le Tellier that all Paris would rise up in arms if he did so much as hesitate about it. The grand Provost told me, when the court returned, that to his certain knowledge, Servien had used all possible means to prevent his sending a full power to the Duke, but above all to hinder his consenting to a personal conference between the Duke of Orleans and the Arch-duke.

The letters-patent came very opportunely to let Don Gabriel de Toledo have a sight of them. They gave the Duke a full and entire power to treat, and conclude a peace upon such terms as he should think reasonable and advantageous to the King's service. He had joined to him in his commission, but under his dependance, though, with the title of extraordinary Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, the first President and Mr. d'Avaux. You are perhaps surprized not to find me to make a third man with them, after the promises which I have mentioned. I was myself surprized at it, but however I made no noise, and I prevented the Duke, whose anger about it was very near as great as mine, from declaring his sentiments. I was unwilling that the least glimpse of private interest in me should appear in the preliminaries of so great and so general a good as that of the peace. These were the words which I made use of to every body, adding, that so long as there were hopes of its succeeding, I would willingly sacrifice to it the resentment which I might and ought to have for the injury done me. Madam de Chevreuse,

who feared the more the consequence of this, the greater my moderation appeared, obliged le Tellier to write to the court about it, as she did herself in very strong terms. The Cardinal was frightened, and he sent me the like commission as the two others, of extraordinary ambassador and plenipotentiary. Mr. d'Avaux expressed a mighty joy for it, and obliged me to speak in private to Don Gabriel de Toledo, and to assure him in his name and in my own, that if the Spaniards would content themselves with conditions that were reasonable, we should conclude a peace in two days. What Mr. d'Avaux told me on this occasion is remarkable. Considering that I was now become one of the plenipotentiaries, I made some difficulty of conferring though never so little upon that subject, with a minister of Spain; whereupon he spoke to me in this manner: 'I had the like scruple at Munster at a time when it perhaps prevented the giving peace to all Europe. The Duke of Orleans is Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the King is under age. You will easily bring the Duke to approve what I propose: mention it to him, and tell him, if you think fit, that this advice comes from me.' I went at that instant with him to the Duke, whom I found sorting his medals; I mentioned to him the proposals of Mr. d'Avaux, who was let into the closet. The Duke heard him for above a quarter of an hour upon that subject, after which he desired me to propose, either myself, or by some other person, to Don Gabriel de Toledo, who was, he said, a lover of money, that if the peace was concluded in the conference which had been proposed, he would give him 100,000 crowns, for which he desired no more of him than only to tell the Arch-duke, that if the Spaniards proposals were reasonable, he would accept them, sign them, and cause them to be registered in parliament, even before Mazarin had the least notice of it.

Mr. d'Avaux thought it needful for me to write to Mr. de Turenne, offering to have my letter delivered into his own hands. My letter was sufficiently wanton, though writ upon so serious a subject. It begun with these words: 'It well becomes you, cursed Spaniard, to call us tribunes of the people.' The end of it was no less wanton. I bantered him upon account of a young wench that lived in the street called Des-petits Champs, whom he loved with all heart. The middle part of the letter was more solid, and took notice of our good intentions towards a peace. I spoke to Don Gabriel de Toledo at the Duke's palace, in a manner that appeared so unaffected, that it was not taken notice of, though

though it served well enough to explain my meaning. He received it with great joy, and expressed neither pride nor scruple about my offer of 100,000 crowns. He was intimate with Fuensaldagne, who had a natural inclination for him, and who, to excuse some particular sorts of whims to which he was subject, used to say that he was the wisest madman that he ever knew. I have observed more than once that these sort of persons are not very good at persuading, but are very proper for insinuating, *which talent is of greater use than that of persuading, because one may insinuate things to every body, and that it seldom happens that one can persuade any one.* Don Gabriel de Toledo could neither insinuate nor persuade to Fuensaldagne the thing in question; for the Pope's nuncio, and the Venetian minister who resided at Paris, in the absence of the Ambassador, following him very close together with Mr. d'Avaux, and being gone to lie at Nautueil, that they might be nearer at hand to receive the Passes which they expected from the Arch-duke, in order to concert the particulars of what Don Gabriel had touched upon only in a very general manner, the only answer they had from his imperial highness was, that having assigned as he had done a place and a time to treat, he had nothing new to say; that the motion of the armies did not permit him to stay longer than till the eighteenth; that there was no manner of need of mediators; and that at any time when the conjuncture of things gave room to treat of a peace, the Spaniards would contribute all that was in their power to render the thing easy. You see that it is impossible to come out of an affair more uncivilly and even more grossly than they did on this occasion. They acted in it, contrary to their interest, to their reputation, and to good manners, and I could never learn of any body the reason why. This proceeding of theirs is, in my opinion, one of the most extraordinary events of the age.

Another, no less extraordinary, but not of the same nature, happened just at this same time. The King\* of England, who had newly lost the battle of Worcester, arrived at Paris the very same day on which Don Gabriel de Toledo departed from it. My lord Taffe served him as Lord-chamberlain, Valet de Chambre, Clerk of the Kitchen, and Cup-bearer. His equipage was answerable to his court, and he had not changed his shirt since he left England. My Lord Jermin gave him one of his at his arrival. The queen his

\* Charles the Second.



mother had not money enough to give him wherewithal to buy any for the next day. The Duke of Orleans went to visit him as soon as he was arrived, but it was not in my power to oblige him to offer the King his nephew a single penny, 'because, said he, a little is not worthy of him, and much would afterwards engage me in too great an expence.' This offers me an opportunity of making this observation: *That nothing is so uneasy as to be the minister of a Prince, of whom one is not the favourite, because nothing but favour can give one a power over the little detail of the family, for which, however, the publick makes the minister answerable, seeing that his power extends over matters much more considerable than the family affairs.* The Duke of Orleans's favour could be obtained only by way of conquest. He knew that he must always be governed, and he always affected to avoid it, or rather, to appear as if he avoided it; and till he was broke, if I may use that expression, he always winced and kicked up his heels, I had considered that it became me well enough to come into his affairs of importance, but I had other thoughts of the little ones. The figure which I should have been obliged to make in the managing of them would have given me too much the air of a confused, busy man, which was not good for me, because it could agree but ill with the character and post of a man devoted to the publick, which I esteemed more reputable and much surer than that of favourite to the Duke. I say much surer; because the people of Paris are easier to fix than any other, as Mr. de Villeroi, \* who had perfectly studied their temper, during all the time of the league, which he governed under Mr. Du Maine, has observed. My own experience convinced me of it, and was the cause that though Montresor, who had for a long time belonged to the Duke, pressed me to take la Riviere's apartment, which the Duke had offered me at the Palais d'Orleans, and though he assured me that I should meet with many disgusts till I had assumed the place of favourite; though the Dutches of Orleans herself had often pressed me to it; though nothing was more easy, the Duke joining to his inclination for my person, an extreme regard for my power with the publick; I remained however firm to my first resolution, which was good in the main, though it was attended with some inconveniencies, of which the thing that gave occasion to this digression, was one: if I had taken an apartment at the Duke's palace, and had had the overseeing

\* Who had been Secretary of State under King Henry the Third, and his successor, Henry the Fourth.

overseeing of his treasurer's accounts, I might have given half his \* appannage to whom I had pleased, and though he had disapproved of it, he durst not have found fault with me for it. But, as I have said, I was unwilling to set myself upon that foot; so that it was not in my power to oblige him to aid the King of England with a thousand pistoles. I was ashamed of it, both upon his and my own account. I borrowed 1500 of Morangis, uncle to him whom you know, and I carried them to my Lord Taffe for the King his master. I might, if I had pleased, have been reimbursed that sum the very next day, and even in English coin; for going back to my house at about eleven at night, I met with one Tilney, an Englishman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that † Vaire, a mighty man against the King, and a great confidant of Cromwell's, was just arrived at Paris, and had orders to see me. I found myself somewhat embarrassed at it, but I thought however that I ought not to refuse that interview. Vaire gave me a short letter of Cromwell's, which was but a credential. It imported that the sentiments which I had shewn for the defence of the publick liberty, added to my reputation, had given him (Cromwell) a desire to contract a strict friendship with me. Vaire adorned his credentials with all the civilities, all the offers, and all the views, which you can imagine. My answer was full of respect, but I neither said nor did any thing unworthy of a good catholick and a true Frenchman. Vaire's ability appeared to me most surprizing. I come now to what passed at the Duke of Orleans's the next day.

Laigues who had had there that morning a long conference with Mr. le Tellier, came to me, and I discovered by his countenance that he had something to communicate to me. I told it him; and he answered that it was true, but that before he spoke he would know whether I would engage to keep the matter secret; which I assured him I would. The matter was, that le Tellier had positive orders from the Cardinal to remove the Princes out of the castle of Vincennes in case the enemy came within reach of it, and

to

\* *The Portion which a sovereign Prince gives his younger children.*

† *This name must be mistaken in the French, no such name being to be found in the English histories of those times. I should have changed it for Vane, but I do not remember to have read any where that Vane was sent by Cromwell to Paris.*

to do his best to bring the Duke of Orleans to consent to it; but however to execute it, though he refused his consent. He was likewise to do his best to bring me over to it, and to make use for that purpose of Madam de Chevreuse, who not being yet entirely paid the 80,000 livres which the queen had given her out of the ransom of the Prince of Ligne, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Lens, would, as he thought, be for that reason the more dependant on the court. Laigues added what other reasons he could find out, of his own, to prove to me how necessary and even how advantageous this removal would be. I stopt him short, by telling him that I should be glad to speak in his presence to Mr. le Tellier about it. We staid for him at the Duke's, and laying hold of him upon the stair-case, we carried him into Viscount d'Autel's chamber, where I assured him that I was in no manner averse to the removal of the Princes; that I thought it no way concerned me; that I was even persuaded that the Duke had no real interest in that matter, and that if he did me the honour to ask my advice about it, I should not think that I spoke against my conscience, in saying what I had now said: but I told le Tellier that my opinion was, at the same time, that nothing could be more against the King's service, because that removal was of the nature of those things which are not good at the bottom, and of which the appearances are bad, and that are consequently always dangerous. I added that I would explain myself, which I did in this manner. 'It is impossible, said I, for the Spaniards to come to Vincennes, without their winning a battle; and even if they had won it, they must have flying squadrons to invest that place, to prevent the removal of the Princes timely enough out of it. This convinces me that that removal is unnecessary; and I affirm, that *in matters which in themselves are not favourable, any unnecessary alteration becomes pernicious, because it is odious.* I hold it still more unnecessary, in relation to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Frondeurs, than in relation to the Spaniards. For suppose that the Duke's intentions against the court are never so ill; suppose that Mr. de Beaufort and I have a design to carry away the Princes; in what manner must we act? are not all the forces in the castle the King's? Has the Duke any to besiege Vincennes? And let the Frondeurs be never so mad, will they, think ye, expose the people of Paris to a siege, which 2000 horse, detached from the King's army, would be able to force 100,000 citizens to raise in a quarter of an hour's time.



time. I conclude from this, that the removal is not sound in the bottom. Let us examine the appearances. Will not these appearances be, that the Cardinal has had a mind, under pretence of his fear of the Spaniards, to make himself master of the persons of the Princes, that he may dispose of them at his pleasure? In this case who can be answerable that the Duke of Orleans will not himself enter into some suspicion about it, or at least that he will not be shocked at an action, which at best the generality of the people must think disadvantageous to them? the people, who generally speaking are Frondeurs, will think that you take the Prince of Condé, whom they now reckon in their power, because they can see him walk upon the platform of the castle; that you take him, I say, out of their hands, with a design to set him at liberty whenever you please, that together with him you may besiege Paris a second time. The party of the Princes, on the other hand, will take hold of that removal to heat peoples minds in exciting in them commiseration, which the spectacle of three Princes loaded with fetters and carried from goal to goal, will not fail to produce. I have told you that this removal no way concerned me: I was mistaken: I find that it concerns me much, because of the murmurs of the people, among whom I put the whole parliament. To preserve myself, I shall be obliged to declare that I have not approved of this resolution. Notice will be sent to court that I blame it, and so far it will be true; the informers will add that I blame it in order to stir up the people and to discredit the Cardinal, which will not be true. But as that effect will follow, I shall be looked upon as the cause of it, and so what has already happened to me at the beginning of the troubles, and what I experience now in relation to the affairs of Guienne, will still be my fate on this occasion. I caused the troubles, because I foretold them; and I foment the rebellion at Bourdeaux, because I have opposed the conduct that has given it life. This is what I have to say to your proposal, and what I am going to write down if you please, and to send to-day to the Cardinal, and even to the queen.

Le Tellier, who had his orders, picked out of my discourse only what served his purpose. He thanked me in the Queen's name, for the disposition which I shewed not to oppose the removal. He magnified the advantage which this compliance to the Queen's fears, though never so ill grounded, would bring upon me, by removing the suspicion which some people

people had endeavoured to give of my conduct with the Duke. I experienced on this occasion the truth of what I had been told of le Tellier, that a rule he pretty constantly observed was, to forbear taking the defence of those whom he had no mind to serve. I did not yield to his reasons, because they were not solid; but I had before-hand prepared myself to submit to other reasons which I have already touched upon on another occasion, and which were grounded on the necessity of not exasperating the Cardinal in a conjuncture when he might at every instant come to an agreement with the Prince of Condé. This made me promise Mr. le Tellier all that he asked upon this point, in which I was punctual to my word. For he had no sooner proposed in the Queen's name the removal to the Duke, but that I spoke, not indeed to support what he said about the necessity of the removal, because it went against me to agree that it was necessary; but to shew the Duke that the thing in itself and in relation to his private concern was indifferent to him, and that if the Queen would absolutely have it, he ought to consent to it. Mr. de Beaufort opposed the proposal with fury, and went so far as to offer the Duke to attack their guards at the time of their being removed. But besides many other good reasons which I made use of to dissuade him from this attempt, I had one which I kept for the last, to which he readily submitted. This reason was, that I had myself heard the Queen say, that Bar had offered her, at the time of her going into Guienne, to kill the Princes with his own hand, if an occasion happened in which he thought that he could not prevent their escape. The Queen's intrusting this to me surprized me much, and my observation upon it was, that Mazarin must at that time have thrown suspicions into her mind, as if the Frondeurs had some design of making themselves masters of the Person of the Prince, which thought I am sure never came into my head. His royal highness, upon hearing this, conceived the fatal consequence of executing what Mr. de Beaufort proposed, and that gentleman himself looked upon it with horror. It was agreed that the Duke of Orleans should consent to the removal, and that neither Mr. de Beaufort nor I should be obliged to mention it in publick that we had approved of it. Le Tellier expressed to me his satisfaction for what I had done, after having heard for certain that I had disposed the Duke to approve of this proposal. Servien has since told me that he had written directly the contrary to the court, valuing himself there for having carried it with the Duke against

against the Frondeurs : I cannot tell whether or no what he said was true.

Give me leave to enliven this subject, which is somewhat serious, with two stories that are very ridiculous, but which will serve to discover the genius of those whom I had to do with. When Mr. le Tellier proposed to Madam de Chevreuse the removal of the Princes, he asked her whether she could make herself sure of me in this affair ; and he repeated that question three or four times. She at last found out what he meant, and said, ' I understand you, and will answer both for him and her : \* he is more than ever attached to her, and I act so sincerely in all that concerns the Queen and the Cardinal, that when I perceive that attachment to come to an end or to diminish, I will faithfully inform you of it.' Le Tellier thanked her heartily, and for fear of being suspected of ingratitude to her in hiding this obligation, he told it an hour after as a secret to Vassé, who it is likely happened to fall in his way sooner than the trumpets of the town. The same day that Madam de Chevreuse expressed herself so kindly to le Tellier, she shewed me another piece of kindness. She carried me into a closet of the lower apartment of the hôtel de Chevreuse, and after having bolted the doors of it, she asked me whether I was not really her friend ? You expect some éclaircissement about that question. Not at all — — — I assured her however of my discretion : she took my word, and told me from the bottom of her heart, ' Laigues is sometimes insupportable.' That speech of hers, added to the impertinent reprimands which he now and then gave her in a very sour manner — — — and to the too intimate correspondence that seemed to me to be between him and le Tellier, obliged me to hold a council in Madam de Rhode's closet, where, besides herself, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse assisted, and there we resolved to give the mother another lover. Hacqueville was proposed for one of the candidates. He began at that time to come very often to the hôtel de Chevreuse, and he had likewise renewed lately with me a former friendship contracted at college. He has told me several times that he would not have accepted the post : I leave that undecided. I did not press the execution of our project, because I could not find in my heart to solicit the deposing of the other. But my faintheartedness did not turn to my account, and this was not the first time that I experienced that one often pays for ones good-nature.

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\* *Meaning her daughter.*



The day that the Princes were removed to Marcoufi, a house of Mr. d'Entragnes's, good against a sudden attack, and situated at six leagues distance from Paris, on a side unapproachable to the Spaniards because of the rivers; the President de Bellievre spoke stoutly to the Lord-keeper, and declared to him positively, that if he continued to act in respect to me as he had begun, he should think himself obliged in honour to say what truth required of him. The Lord-Keeper answered him pretty bluntly: 'The Princes are no longer in sight of Paris; the Coadjutor must not speak so loud.' You will quickly see that I was in the right to mark these words. I return to the Parliament.

Le Coudrai Montpensier being come back from the court, and from Bourdeaux, where the Duke had sent him with the conditions that have been mentioned, brought back an answer not much more satisfactory than that of the deputies of the Parliament of Paris. That gentleman in a full assembly of the chambers gave an account of his negotiation both at court and at Bourdeaux. The substance of which was, 'That being arrived at Libourne, where the King was, he had sent two trumpets to Bourdeaux, and two expresses to propose a cessation of arms for ten days; that eight of them being passed, before he could get into Bourdeaux, and have an answer, the Parliament of that place had desired, that the cessation of arms might be reckoned only from the day that he should return to Bourdeaux from Libourne, where he was desired to take a journey to obtain that prolongation from the King; that thinking their demand reasonable, he left the town with a design to do what he was desired; but that he was got but half way when he received the King's order to send back Mr. de Bouillon's drummer and guard; that the next day, when he and those of the town were expecting a favourable answer, they had discovered the Marechal de la Meilleraie, who thought to have surprized them, and who attacked la Bastide, from whence he was repulsed.' This is a true abstract of what le Coudrai Montpensier reported. I do not know whether the little heat it caused in the minds of people the day he spoke it in the assembly of the chambers, ought to be attributed to the colouring, with which we had taken care to disguise it the evening before at the Duke's palace, or only to the gentle and benign influences that upon certain days sweeten the minds of a company. But I never saw this more moderate: Mazarin was hardly named, and the Duke's opinion which had been concerted the day before with Mr. le Tellier, passed without any manner of contest.

That

That opinion was, to send two deputies of the company with le Coudrai Montpensier to Bourdeaux, to know for the last time whether or no that Parliament was for peace; and that the company should even invite two of the deputies sent from Bourdeaux to accompany those of Paris.

Five or six days after, the Parliament of Toulouse sent a letter to that of Paris about the commotions in Guienne, part of which province is under their jurisdiction, demanding at the same time in express terms an union with them. But the Duke of Orleans dexterously eluded this blow which was of great importance, and he obliged the company, by way of insinuation rather than authority, to answer that letter only with expressions of civility, but otherwise insignificant. In order to cover his play the better, he was not present at the deliberation, \* *and to compass his design he made use, besides others, of the President de Bellievre and me.* That President talking with me in the afternoon, said, 'What a pleasure would it be to act as we do for persons that could have a just sense of it.' He was in the right, and you will own it, when I have told you that both he and I staid part of that evening at the Duke's with le Tellier, who spoke not a word to us of what we had done.

The calm was not so perfect in the Parliament but that there always was some agitation. One day they gave an arrest for the interrogating the state prisoners that were in the Bastile. Another day there was seen blowing from thence a tempest occasioned by trifles, and mixt with thunder and lightning against Mazarin. At another time complaints were made there that the funds assigned for the town-house rents were diverted to other uses. We could hardly parry all the blows, and we should not have held out long against the storm, if the news of the peace at Bourdeaux had not arrived. It was registered at Bourdeaux the first of October 1650. Meunier and Bitant, the deputies of the Parliament of Paris, sent an account of it to the company in a letter that was read there upon the 11th. This news very much humbled the Prince of Condé's party, who durst hardly now open their mouths; and the assemblies of the chambers ceased that same day, the 11th of October, not to commence again till St. Martin's day. The news of the peace was the cause that the continuation of the Parliament in the Vacation-chamber during that interval, was not so much as proposed, which otherwise

\* I have thought fit to add what is here writ in Italics, without which what follows can hardly be understood.

otherwise had passed with one voice. Ondedei's sordid and infamous avarice covered the fire that was left, and kept it burning the ashes. Montreuil, who was Secretary either to the Prince of Condé or that of Conti, I do not remember which, and who was one of the prettiest fellows that I ever knew, rallied by his address and application all the Prince of Condé's party that were at Paris, and made up with them an invisible body, which in these sorts of affairs is pretty often more to be feared than battalions are. I gave timely notice of it to the court, but they took no care about it. This surprised me to a degree, that for a long while I could not but think that the Cardinal was better informed than I, and that perhaps he had won Montreuil. But after my reconciliation with the Prince, Montreuil, who acted every day with me, told me that he had himself won Ondedei, by allowing him one thousand crowns a year for the liberty of staying at Paris. There he served the Princes admirably well, and his activity which was regulated by the Princess Palatine, and supported by Arnaud, Violé, and Croissi, preserved in Paris the remains of a party, which it was unwise to suffer. I even perceived at that time, that *great names, though filled up with little, or even empty, are always dangerous.*

The Duke de Nemours was less than a cypher in respect to his capacity, but that did not hinder him from making a figure in that party, and from disturbing us in some occasions. The Frondeurs could not make them quit their ground, but by using such violent means as are seldom or never becoming to private persons, and of which the example of what had happened at Renard's had much cured me. The little cunning which always tainted the Cardinal's politicks, though otherwise good made him relish the leaving before our eyes, and in some measure betwixt him and us, a party of men, with whom he might come to an accommodation, and join against us. These men amused him by negotiations, of which he made use on purpose to delude them. What happened of this was, that it raised a cloud that swelled by degrees, and became much thicker by the addition of the Frondeurs who joined to it at last, and who by sublimating these exhalations, set all in a flame.

The King staid but ten days in Guienne after the peace; and the Cardinal, swelled with his success, thought of nothing now but of coming back to finish his triumph by chastizing the Frondeurs, who had made use, as he said, of the King's absence to alienate the Duke of Orleans from his service, to favour the revolt at Bourdeaux, and to endeavour to make themselves masters of the Princes. At the same  
time



time he caused his agents to tell the Princess Palatine, \* that he was moved with horror for the hatred which my heart was full of against the Prince of Condé, and that I sent him proposals every day upon that account that were unbecoming a christian. A moment after he suggested to the Duke of Orleans, by the means of Beloy, who was at his disposal, though belonging to the Duke, that I made him great advances for my accommodation with the court, but that he could put no manner of trust in me, because I was treating with the party of the Princes from morning till night. In this manner did the Cardinal reward me for what I had done during the court's absence, for the service of the Queen, with an incredible application, and (I am forced to say it for the sake of truth) with a sincerity that has but few examples. I do not mention the danger to which I believe I was exposed two or three times in a day, and a danger greater than that of being in battle. But I desire you to consider what it was for me to bear the envy and the hatred of so odious a name as Mazarin's was to all Paris, where he was working my ruin with a Prince whose two qualities were to be always possessed with fear, and to mistrust every body, except those that thought that their interest consisted in destroying me.

During the siege of Bourdeaux I passed over these considerations, and was altogether devoted to my duty. I can even say that I took not one step at that time that was not becoming a good christian and a patriot. The resolution which I had embraced of following patiently that road, and my aversion for all that had the least appearance of sickleness, would, as I believe, have led me insensibly into a precipice, if Cardinal Mazarin had not been pleased to keep me from it, in a manner against my will, and to force me back whether I would or no, into the road of faction.

The clamour he made after the peace of Bourdeaux came to my ears from all sides. Madam de Lesdiguières shewed me a letter from the Mareschal de Villeroy, wherein he sent her word that I should do wisely to retire, and not to wait the King's return. The Grand Provost sent me the like word, so that it was no longer a secret; and when a thing of that nature is once divulged, it is not to be remedied. Madam de Chevreuse, who conceived that I would hardly suffer myself to be tamely oppressed, and who could have wished that the Fronde had continued firm to the Queen,

with

\* Who was at that time the most intrusted by the Prince of Condé.

with whom she began to find again some satisfaction, thought of preventing the evil which the Cardinal's conduct made her fear. She found some aid for that design in the disposition of most of those of our party, who were in no manner inclined to return to the Prince of Condé. They most of them joined themselves to her, not to persuade me, for they did me justice, and they knew as well as I that it had been ridiculous to lull me asleep; but to undeceive the court, and to let the Cardinal know the sincerity of my proceeding, and what was his true interest. I remember a passage of Madam de Chevreuse's letter to him upon that subject. After having amplified what I had done to keep up the people, she added, 'Is it possible that there are men wicked enough to dare send you word that the Coadjutor has kept correspondence with those of Bourdeaux? I can witness, that whilst he was your declared enemy, he could hardly shew any regard for their deputies, and that one day that I chid him for it, and reproached him that he used those of Provence better, he answered me, that the Provencals were only vain, from whom however some advantage might be expected; but that the Gascons were always mad, and that nothing but impertinencies could be expected from them.' Madam de Chevreuse did me justice, but she could never persuade the Cardinal to do the like; either because he was really deceived by the Lord-Keeper, and by le Tellier, as Lionne has since told me; or because he was willing to appear so, that he might thereby have an opportunity of attacking me.

Madam de Rhodes, with whom the Lord-Keeper was more in love than she was with him, and who kept a great correspondence with me by the means of Madam de Chevreuse, found in this disposition of affairs an ample field to satisfy her humour, naturally inclined to court intrigues. It was not an ill way of keeping well with Mr. de Chateaufort, to contribute, as she did, to set me at variance with the court, not by any ill service which she did me there, for she was incapable of a perfidy, but by endeavouring to alienate me from it. She had been a pretty good friend of Madam de Longueville's, but was now more intimate with the Princess Palatine, who pressed her to make me some proposals for the liberty of the Princes. These proposals, which she kept not hid from the Hôtel de Chevreuse, alarmed the whole cabal of those of our party, who had nothing else in view but their little private interest, which they found with the court, and for that reason were unwilling to detach themselves from it. Of this number were Madam de Chevreuse,

Noirmoutier.

Noirmoutier and Laigues. The rest were subdivided into two branches, of which the one was for the safety and honour of the whole party, as were messieurs de Montreuil, de Vitri, de Bellievre, de Brissac, after his lazy way, and de Caumartin. The others hardly knew what they were for. Mr. de Beaufort and Madam de Montbazon had nothing properly in view, because they extended their view to every thing and every where. These sort of persons never fail to assemble in their thoughts things contradictory. That made me tell Madam de Montbazon that I should be but too well pleased with her, if she contented herself with changing her opinion and side, in relation to the Prince and the Cardinal, two or three times in a day. To compleat my trouble, I had to deal with the Duke of Orleans, who was one of the weakest, most mistrustful, and most dissembling men in the world. Nothing but experience can convince any body how much the conjunction of these qualifications renders the commerce of a man nice and difficult. Being resolved not to come to any determination in this matter, but in concert with those that were united to me, I was glad to explain my thoughts to them fully upon it. All of them, though with different views, centered in the same advice, to which they were brought by the address of Caumartin. This gentleman had for a long time opposed my obstinacy in not setting my thoughts on the Cardinal's cap. He had several times represented to me, that what I had declared upon that subject had been more than sufficiently fulfilled by the disinterestedness which I had shewn in so many occasions. That the most that it ought to have been extended to, was only during the time of the civil war, which might have been a ground for my speaking and acting in the manner I had done. But that neither that, nor the defence of Paris, nor the blood of the people were now the matters in question; that the troubles that were now seen in the state, were properly but a cabinet-intrigue between a Prince of the blood and the minister; that my reputation, which at first consisted in my disinterestedness, depended now upon my ability; that the thing now in question was to pass either for a fool, or an able man; that the Prince, by accusing me in the manner he had done, had cruelly offended me; that I had revenged myself by his imprisonment; that the Cardinal's manner of proceeding with me shewed that he was as much offended at my serving the Queen, as he had been before at my serving the parliament; that these considerations ought to convince me of the necessity in which I was, of finding out a shelter against the Prince of Condé's resentment,



resentment, and the minister's jealousy, who both might, at every instant, come to an accommodation together; that nothing but the dignity of Cardinal could set me upon an equal foot with them; that the post of Archbishop, with all its lustre, was not sufficient to work that effect, which however was necessary, chiefly in peaceful times, to support me against those whose high rank seldom fails to give them as much consideration and strength, as lustre and pomp.

This was what Caumartin, and all those that loved me, did not cease to say from morning till night. They were in the right: for it is certain, that if the Prince and the Cardinal, by their uniting together, had crushed me with their weight, what appeared disinterestedness in me at the time of my holding out, had appeared foolishness at the time of my being crushed. Nothing is more commendable than generosity, but nothing ought less to be stretched too far. I have a hundred examples of it. Caumartin, moved to it by his friendship, and the President de Bellievre, by the interest which he had not to suffer me to fall, had much shaken me, at least as to the speculative part, since I had perceived that I was undoing myself at court, even by my services. But there is a great distance from the being simply persuaded that a thing is right, to the being enough so, to fall to action in things that are against our inclination. When one finds one's self in that situation, which may be called a middle state, it is natural to take hold of occasions, but not to seek after them. Fortune presented me with two in six weeks or two months time, before the court came back from Guienne. It is necessary to represent them from their origin.

Cardinal Mazarin had formerly been Secretary to Panzirolo, \* Nuncio in extraordinary for the peace of Italy. He had betrayed his master in this occasion, and was even convicted of having communicated his dispatches to the Governor of Milan. Pimentel has told me the particulars, which would but tire you. Panzirolo having been made a Cardinal and Secretary of state to the see of Rome, forgot not the treachery of Mazarin, on whom Pope Urban had bestowed the hat, at Cardinal Richlieu's instances; and he did not try to lessen the violent animosity which Pope Innocent preserved against Mazarin for the assassination of one of his nephews, in which he believed he had been an accomplice with Cardinal  
Antony

\* John James Panzirolo, made a Cardinal by Pope Urban the eighth.

Antony Barberini. \* Panzirolo, who thought that he could not disoblige Mazarin more sensibly than by procuring me the Cardinal's hat, put it into the Pope's head, who gave his consent to a correspondence about it between him and me. He made use for that purpose of the Vicar-general of the Augustines, who was much in his confidence, and who was to take Paris in his way to Spain. The Vicar-general gave me a letter from him, of which he explained me the contents, assuring me, that if I could obtain the nomination, the Pope would come to a promotion without delay. These offers did not put me upon the asking it then, nor even upon the accepting it; but they worked so far with me, that when the other considerations which I have mentioned came into my head, upon the court's threatening me so loudly after the peace of Bourdeaux, I gave way to them more easily than I had done, if I had not thought myself sure on the side of Rome. For one of the reasons that had made me so averse to the suing for the hat, was the difficulty of fixing the nomination, which may be revoked at any time; and when that happens, nothing in my opinion is more vexatious, because it always brings the pretender to the hat lower than he was before his pretensions were declared. This abased la Riviere still the more, who was contemptible enough of himself; and it is certain that the harm it causes is proportioned to the height from which you fall.

When I was once persuaded that I ought seriously to think on the hat, I made use of the measures which I had hitherto rather hearkened to than taken; I dispatched an express to Rome, and I renewed my engagements there. Panzirolo gave me all the assurances possible of a good success. I even found there another protection, which proved not unuseful to me. The Princess of Rossane was lately reconciled to the Pope, whose nephew she had married, after the death of her first husband, who was the Prince of Sulmone. She was daughter and heiress to the House of the Aldobrandins, with whom the House I come from has had great friendship and alliances in Italy. She joined herself in my favour to Panzirolo, and you shall see with what success.

As I was not idle in respect to Rome, no more was Caumartin in respect to Paris. He failed not every morning to give some new alarm to Madam de Chevreuse, touching my accommodation with the Princes, which, said he, will undo us all, by dragging us into a party, of which the resentment will

\* One of the nephews of Pope Urban the eighth.

will always be more to be feared, than the gratitude to be expected. He was every evening insinuating to the Duke of Orleans the little safety there was with the court, and the inconveniencies that were to be met with the Princes, and he made a very industrious use of the maxim that advises *to shew to persons that are naturally weak, precipices on all sides, because it is the best means to bring them into the first path which you keep open for them.* Mr. de Bellievre worked upon the Duke by the same way, that is, by instilling fears into him at every instant, in relation to the infidelity of the court, and by giving him at the same time a frightful idea of the return of the troubles. All these different ideas, mixing and confounding themselves together five or six times in a day, formed almost in the minds of people a project of defending themselves against the court by the means of the court itself, or of trying at least to divide the cabinet, before they resolved upon renewing the faction. I have already observed, that all interlocutory proceedings appear wise to irresolute minds, because their inclinations make them avoid as long as they can the coming to a final resolution. They give however a fine name to these sentiments. Caumartin, finding in the temper of those with whom he had to do, that easy disposition, brought them insensibly and of themselves into the measures which he had designed. The Duke of Orleans did in every thing what most of those do that go to bathe in a deep river, which is to shut their eyes when they fling themselves into the water. Caumartin, who knew the Duke's humour, advised me to keep his eyes always open, by moderate but successive fears. I own that thought was not come into my head, and that on the contrary, knowing that the Duke's defect was timorousness, I always fancied that the best way was ever to animate and encourage him. Caumartin convinced me of the contrary, and his advice was very useful to me. I should tire you should I relate minutely the windings and turnings which he made use of in that intrigue, in which I must own, that though I was persuaded that the hat was absolutely necessary to me, I was not so active as the thing required, because of a scruple that remained with me, which was impertinent enough. Caumartin succeeded at last in such a manner, that the Duke thought that both his honour and his interest required that he should procure me the hat; that Madam de Chevreuse was persuaded that she did as much for the court as for me, by breaking or retarding the measures into which I was pressed to enter for the liberty of the Princes; that Madam de Mompazon was glad at heart to have



have wherewithal to make herself valued on both sides, the negotiations of one side giving always a weight to the other; and that Mr. de Beaufort thought himself obliged in honour to do for me, at least as far as he could about the Cardinalship, what I had effectually done for him about the superintendancy of the seas. We did not think that all this help made the affair sure, but considering Mazarin's embarrassment, we thought it possible; and *every thing possible ought to be ventured upon, whenever we find ourselves in a condition to take advantage even of the want of success.* My interest was to bring my friends over to the Prince, if I went that way myself. The little inclination which all of them had to it, could not be more naturally rectified, than by engaging them with me upon a point relating to my fortune, in which, after what I had done for them in respect of their interests, they could not refuse to concur, without dishonouring themselves. This was what determined me more than all other reasons which I have alledged, to try this attempt, because I was never persuaded at heart that the Cardinal could resolve to give me the hat, or rather to let it fall upon my head; that was the term which Caumartin used, and which he thought Mazarin capable of, though against his intention. We did not forget to shew all the regard possible for the Lord-keeper, making use of Madam de Rhodes for that purpose, to prevent at least part of the evil which his manner of acting gave us room to fear. But that Lady's union with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, with Caumartin, and with me having angered him, he reposed not near so great a trust in her as he had done. He over-reached her, though he told her just enough to oblige me to take all necessary precautions against the harm he intended me.

Matters being thus disposed, Madam de Chevreuse first opened the trenches. She told le Tellier, that as he could not be ignorant of the cruel injuries which had been done me, neither would she hide from him the just resentment which I preserved for them; that it was openly said at court that they came with an intent to ruin me, and that I publicly said in Paris that I was preparing to defend myself; that he knew as well as she, that the Prince's party, which was not dead, though it appeared to be asleep, would awake at this noise, of which they began to conceive great hopes; that to her knowledge immense wagers were laid; that most of my friends were already won; that those that did still hold out, as she, Nourmoutier, and Laigues, knew not what to answer to me, when I said to them: 'What have I done, and

‘and what is my crime? I do not say where is my recompence, but where lies my safety?’ That hitherto I had contented myself only with complaining, because I had been amused; but that she being devoted to the Queen in the manner she was, and a true friend to the Cardinal, could not help telling him that they could no longer amuse her whom they had made use of to amuse me, though she began to doubt much of her power over me, at least in that point; that I said but little, but that it was easy to see by my countenance that I was conscious of my own strength, and that the more I was threatened, the more I recovered my spirits; that she could not precisely tell upon what terms I was with the Duke of Orleans, but that he had told her no longer than two days since, that never man served the King more faithfully than I had done, and that the conduct of the court in respect to me was of a pernicious example; that Mr. de Beaufort had sworn in the Duke’s anti-chamber, before all those that were present there, that if the court continued a week longer to act in the manner they had begun, he would prepare to stand out a second siege under his Royal Highness’s orders; to which I had answered: ‘They are not in a condition to besiege us, and we are in a condition to give them battle.’ That she could not imagine that they durst speak in that manner so near the Duke’s hearing, if they were not sure of his intentions: that what she had observed of the disposition of our minds, and even of our hearts, was not bad at the bottom; that we thought ourselves injured by the Cardinal, but that our regard for the Queen would stifle that resentment in a trice, if it was not increased by distrust, which was therefore the thing chiefly to be remedied. You easily guess that this discourse ended in mentioning the hat for me. The contest was warm: Le Tellier refused to propose it to the court; Madam de Chevreuse took upon her the consequences of it. He at last yielded, upon condition that she should write and say that she had in a manner forced him to do what he did. The court received this agreeable dispatch being upon their return from Bourdeaux, and the Cardinal put off his answer till his arrival at Fontainebleau.

The Lord-keeper, who was against my promotion to the hat, by reason of his own pretensions that way, and who likewise desired Mazarin’s ruin, because he would be himself first minister, thought he should strike a double blow, by advising the Duke not to expose his person at Fontainebleau to the caprices of Mazarin, who had so publicly disapproved his

his conduct during the court's absence. He was persuaded that my interest required that the Duke should go thither, because his presence and a declaration in my favour from his own mouth, might very much support my pretensions. He therefore imagined that I would not fail to advise the Duke to go, which would give him an opportunity of making his court to him at the expence of the Cardinal, and even of the Coadjutor, by shewing a much greater regard and care than I for his Royal Highness's person; that besides he run in this no manner of risk, because what he intended to represent to the Duke was by the channel of Frémont, one of his Secretaries, and of all those that belonged to him the most proper to be disowned.

My knowledge of the man, who was none of the wisest, and who was besides pretty much my friend, made me judge at the first word that what he spoke was not of his own head, which made me resolve to speak in the same tune, as well to prevent falling into the trap which I guessed was laid for me, and which touched the Duke on his weakest side; as because I was really apprehensive for his person. All my friends laughed at me upon that account, not thinking it possible even to imagine, that in the condition the kingdom was in, any body durst form the design of arresting him. And yet I own that I could not quiet myself upon that article, and that though I saw plainly that my interest required his presence at Fontainebleau, I could never resolve upon advising him to go, because it seemed to me, that if they were bold enough at court to arrest him, the Cardinal might afterwards come off as safely that way as by giving me the hat. I know very well that this stroke would have caused a general commotion in the minds of the people, and that the Prince's party joined to the Frondeurs would at first have received by it both real strength and a fair pretence. But I know as well, that the Duke being a prisoner as well as the Princes, and the party against the court having nothing but their names to support itself, means would have been found to lessen every day the credit of it, because every one would have made use of those names after his own way, which would soon have either divided that party, or have turned it into a popular one, and would consequently have been a great misfortune to the state, but a misfortune of a nature not to have been foreseen by Mazarin, and which therefore could not have been a motive to prevent his arresting the Duke. I was in this the only one of that opinion, though I have learnt since that I was not altogether in the wrong. Mr. de Lionne told me at St. Ger-  
mains



mains a year or two before he died, that Servien, two days before the court's arrival at Fontainebleau, had proposed the thing to the Cardinal, in the presence of the Queen; that the Queen had heartily consented to it; but that Mazarin had rejected the proposal as extravagant. The truth is, however, that my apprehension seemed groundless to every body, and was even interpreted in another sense. Some thought it only a veil to cover the apprehension which I might truly have of the Duke's suffering himself to be cajoled and won by the Queen. I knew how far his weakness might go, and I was convinced that it could not stretch so far. But what surprised me, was, that notwithstanding Fremont's endeavours to fright him from going to court, he was not at all moved at it: and I remember that he told the Dutchesse, who was wavering, 'I had not ventured it with Cardinal Richlieu, but with Mazarin there is no danger.' The Duke however thought fit to express before le Tellier, very artfully and unaffectedly, better dispositions than ordinary towards the court, but chiefly towards Mazarin. He even affected (in concert with me) to lessen a little the commerce which I had with him, and he resolved by my advice upon consenting to the removal of the Princes to Havre-de-Grace, which, as I was informed the day before he went to Fontainebleau, was to be proposed to him there by the Queen. The Duke was startled when he first heard of it, and so much as to make him hesitate about going, because the murmurs which his consent to their removal to Marcoufi had occasioned, made him fear much greater, if he consented to this other removal. My advice was, that if he resolved upon going to court, he ought to oppose the removal only so far as to make his consenting to it afterwards the more acceptable. I was persuaded that in the main it was very indifferent both to him and to the Frondeurs in what place the Princes were kept, because the court had an equal command over all. However if they had known there what the Prince of Condé has since told me, that if they had not removed him from Marcoufi he had infallibly made his escape, by an attempt that was upon the point of being executed, I should not have wondered at the Cardinal's impatience for removing him from thence; but as he thought him very safe there, I never could find out the reason that obliged him to do a thing which was of no use to him, and only served to exasperate people's minds. The Cardinal however had that removal so much at heart, that we were afterwards told that he was transported with joy when he found the Duke at Fontainebleau not so averse to it as he had thought; and that even his

his joy broke out to a ridiculous excess, when he had informations sent him from Paris that the Frondeurs were exasperated at that removal. It is certain that we acted our part extremely well on this occasion. We represented the removal in its proper colours, and two days after a print was sold at the print-sellers shops, and upon the Pont-neuf, that represented the Count d'Harcourt armed cap-a-pè leading the Princes in triumph. You cannot imagine the effect this had, nor how much it moved the common people to compassion. We took care however to distinguish the Duke of Orleans from the rest of the court; for he was no sooner come back from Fontainebleau, but we spread abroad that he had done all he could to oppose the removal, and that his consenting to it at last came from his fear of being himself detained. It must be owned that it is impossible to act a part better than he did his at Fontainebleau. He took not one step but what was worthy of a son of France; he said not one word that degenerated from it; he spoke courageously, discreetly, and civilly. He did his best to represent things truly to the Queen, and to the Cardinal; but when he saw this last abandoned to a reprobate sense, he came off very artfully. He returned to Paris, where he said these words to me: 'Madam de Chevreuse has been repulsed a great way upon your account, and the Cardinal has treated me vilely on the same article, as well as upon all others. I am heartily glad of it. The wretch had only amused us, and involved us in his own ruin: he is only fit to hang.' Here follow the particulars of all that passed at court upon my account.

Madam de Chevreuse told the Queen and Mazarin all that she had seen of my conduct during the King's absence; and what she had seen was certainly a series of considerable services which I had done the Queen. She then came back to the injuries which had all along been done me, to the contempt shewn me, to the just grounds of diffidence which it was impossible for me not to fall into at every instant. She concluded with the necessity of removing these obstacles, and with the impossibility of doing it otherwise than by giving me the hat. The Queen fell into a passion; the Cardinal excused himself, not by way of refusal, for he had too often offered it me, but by proposing a delay which he grounded on the dignity of the conduct of a great monarch, who ought never to be forced to any thing. The Duke came on next, in order to support Madam de Chevreuse, and seemed to have moved Mazarin, who was willing to express on this occasion, at least outwardly, his regard and respect for him.

Madam

Madam de Chevreuse seeing this kind of parley, doubted not but that it would be followed by a capitulation. She was the more confirmed in this thought when she saw the Queen growing milder, and when she heard her tell the Duke: 'That she gave him up all her resentment, and would do what her council should think fit and reasonable.' That council, which was only a specious name, was reduced to the Cardinal, to the Lord-keeper, to le Tellier, and to Servien.

The Duke laughed at this expedient, which he very wisely judged to have been proposed with no other intent but to cause a refusal in form to be given to my nomination. Laigues, who was not of a very quick penetration, suffered himself to be cajoled by Mazarin, who made him believe that this expedient was necessary for the overcoming the obstinacy of the Queen. The Cardinal opened the matter and proposed it to the council, concluding his speech by beseeching the Queen most humbly to condescend to the Duke of Orleans's demand, and to what the Coadjutor's services and his merits demanded still in a stronger manner, (these were his very words.) They were taken up with a stoutness and a boldness not usually seen at a council-board when the advice of a first minister is to be opposed. Le Tellier indeed and Servien contented themselves not to applaud Mazarin; but the Lord-keeper lost all manner of respect for him; he accused him of weakness and prevarication; he knelt to the Queen, beseeching her in the name of the King her son, not to authorize by an example which he called fatal, the insolence of a subject, who would wrest favours from his sovereign, sword in hand. The Queen was moved; the poor Cardinal became ashamed of his own great easiness and goodness; and Madam de Chevreuse as well as Laigues had now ground enough to acknowledge that I had judged right, and that I had been cruelly played upon. It is true that I had myself given an opportunity of doing it, which was very fair and natural. I have in my lifetime done many foolish things; this which I am going to tell, is in my opinion one of the most remarkable. I have several times observed that *when persons have been for a long while in suspense about the undertaking at hand, by reason of their fear of not succeeding in it; the impression which that fear leaves in their minds, is commonly the cause of their going on afterwards too fast in the managing that undertaking.* This was what happened to me. I had with the greatest difficulty possible resolved upon setting up for the cardinalship, because such a pretension without being sure of succeeding in it, was in my opinion beneath me. But as soon as I was engaged in



in it, the impression which that idea had left in my mind forced me in a manner to precipitate the thing for fear of remaining too long in that state; so that instead of letting Madam de Chevreuse act of herself with le Tellier, as we had concerted it, I spoke myself to him two or three days after. I told him as a friend, that I was very sorry to see myself reduced against my will, to a state, where there was no safety for me, but the being the head of a party or a Cardinal, and that I left it to Cardinal Mazarin to take his choice of the two. Mr. le Tellier gave a faithful account of this discourse, which served as a theme to the Lord-Keeper's speech on that occasion. It had certainly become him to leave that task to somebody else, considering the obligations which he had to me, and his engagements with me, entered into against my consent. But I must likewise confess, that I committed a great blunder in furnishing him with that ground. *It is less imprudent to act like a master, than not to speak like a subject.* The Cardinal shewed not much more discretion in the studied manner in which he refused my nomination. He thought to discredit me with the publick by shewing that my interest moved me on this occasion, though I had always professed to be guided by no private interest. He made no distinction of times, and did not consider, that, as Caumartin said, the question was not now about the defending Paris, or the protecting the people, in the doing of which all that favours of private interest is suspicious. His exposing me to the publick in this manner did me no harm, because my promotion was very much according to order, and very necessary: but his way of proceeding on this occasion prevented my ever accepting of any medium in respect to that promotion.

The Cardinal came back some time after with the King to Paris. He offered me by the means of Madam de Chevreuse, the Abbays of Orcan and of St. Lucien, with the payment of my debts, and the place of great Almoner; and it was neither that Lady's nor Laigues's fault that I did not accept of these offers. I should have refused them with the addition even of a dozen of hats. I had engaged myself to the Duke, who had left off the thoughts of setting up altar against altar, because of the impossibility which he found at Fontainebleau of dividing the cabinet council, and of setting me up there in a red cap, in the view of and over-against Mazarin. His Royal Highness was now bent upon setting the Princes at liberty. I had for a long time before perceived something in him that tended that way; but that faint way of

willing would long have remained barren and fruitless, if I had not cultivated and cherished it. That thought never came into his head but at his last refuge, because he naturally feared the Prince of Condé as a man whom he had offended, and as a man superior to him beyond any proportion, in reputation, in courage, and in genius. This used to make him remove that thought as soon almost as it came into his head, and as soon as he perceived the least prospect of getting, any other way, out of the embarrassments which the continual disappointments he met with from the Cardinal plunged him into in relation to the publick, whose love the Duke would by no means lose. Caumartin had very artfully made use of this disposition to propose my promotion to the Duke as a middle way between the abandoning the state to the Cardinal, and the renewing the faction. The Duke accepted that proposal with joy, because he thought that it would only be a cabinet-intrigue, which might be made use of and pushed on, as it should in time be thought convenient. But as soon as he saw that the Cardinal had shut that door, he no longer stood wavering about the setting the Princes free. I own that it being very difficult for all irresolute men to determine themselves as to the means, though they are determined as to the end, the Duke would have been a long while before he had put his resolution into practice, if I had not opened him the way. I will come to the particulars, after I have taken notice of two pretty odd adventures which I had at that time.

Cardinal Mazarin being returned to Paris, employed his thoughts wholly upon dividing the Fronde, to which Madam de Chevreuse's conduct gave him no small encouragement; for though that Lady knew very well that she should fall to nothing if she divided from me, she thought fit however, at all events, to keep as fair as she could with the court, and to let them believe there that she was much less attached to me by herself than by her daughter's obstinacy. The Cardinal being persuaded that he should weaken me much with the Duke by taking from me Madam de Chevreuse, for whom his Royal Highness had a natural inclination, thought besides that he should do a thing very advantageous for himself if he could set me at variance with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and he thought that there was no surer way for it than by opposing to me a rival whom she liked better. He looked upon Mr. d'Aumale as one very fit for his purpose, because he was extremely handsome, and because of a sympathy between that Lady and him, which might make him the more acceptable. Mr. d'Aumale had given up himself wholly

wholly to the Cardinal, even against the interest of the Duke de Nemours his elder brother, and he thought himself very much honoured with this commission. He came accordingly often to the hôtel de Chevreuse, where he behaved himself in a manner which immediately persuaded me that he was sent on purpose to succeed Mr. de Candale in the part which this last had acted without success. I watched all his steps, and found ground enough to confirm me in my opinion. I spoke of it to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, but her answer was not to my mind. I complained, and had my mouth stopped. I grew angry again; and hearing her say aloud before Mr. d'Aumale, with a design of pleasing me, and of provoking him, that she did not conceive how an impertinent could be suffered: 'Par-  
' don me, Madam, said I, the impertinent may sometimes be  
' suffered for the sake of the fool.' The Gentleman was publicly acknowledged to be possessed of both these titles, which made my saying to be approved of, and thought well applied. They got rid of him in a few days at the hôtel de Chevreuse, but he had likewise a mind to get rid himself of me. He hired one Grand Maison, a sharper, to assassinate me. But Grand Maison discovered the thing to me. I whispered it to Mr. d'Aumale, whom I found at the Duke of Orleans's, adding these words, 'I have too great a respect for the name  
' of Savoy to divulge the thing.' He denied it; but after a manner that made me believe it true, because he begged of me not to publish it. I gave him my word that I would not, which I have kept.

The other adventure is still more strange. You will easily judge by what I have already said of Madam de Guimené, that we often quarrelled. I remember that one evening Caumartin was telling you the particulars, which diverted you for a moment. One while she made her complaints to my father, as being a relation. Another while it was to a Canon of Nôtre-Dame, who teased me much about it. Sometimes she fell publicly into violent passions, uttering the most abusive language against both mother \* and daughter, as well as against me; notwithstanding which we often peiced, sometimes for days, and sometimes for whole weeks. Her madness at last came to this height. She caused a kind of vault, or rather orange-house, which touches her garden, and lies just under her little closet, to be fitly prepared; and then she proposed to the Queen the securing me there, promising to find out the means, if the Queen would pass her word to

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leave

\* Madam de Chevreuse, and her daughter.



leave me shut up in that place, and in her keeping. The Queen has told me this since, and Madam de Guimené has herself owned it to me. The Cardinal would not consent to it, because if I had disappeared the people would have charged it upon him. By good fortune for me, this whim did not come into her head till the time that the King was at Paris. If she had thought of it during the court's stay in Guienne, I was a lost man; for going as I did sometimes to her house, at night and alone, she had very easily delivered me up. I return to the Duke of Orleans.

I have told you that he was resolved upon getting the Princes out of prison; but nothing was more difficult than the manner in which it was proper to go about it. They were in the hands of the Cardinal, who might in a quarter of an hour's time assume to himself, by the event at least, the merit of all the attempts which the Duke could make during whole years; and the least appearance of any of these attempts would have been sufficient to bring Mazarin to effect it. These considerations made us resolve upon keeping the main of our design hid, and upon uniting together, without any regard to past offences or private concerns, all those whose common interest was to ruin the Cardinal, upon making a shew of an intention for the liberty of the Princes that might be looked upon as not real or sincere; and that not only with those that were of the court party, but with those likewise of their own party who favoured the Frondeurs least; upon letting some glimmerings of division appear among these last, and upon increasing from time to time that suspicion by some accommodations with the Prince of Condé that should be made separately and successively. It was likewise resolved to reserve the Duke for the decisive stroke, and at the time of the giving it, to join all together and to fall upon the Minister and the Ministry, some by cabinet intrigues, and the others by the Parliament; and above all to open ourselves at first only to one person of the Prince's party that had his confidence and the key of his secrets. All these springs and wheels were necessary, and there was not one that failed. All moved with the regularity that was expected. Some of the wheels indeed went on a little faster than was projected, but they came again immediately almost to their just equilibrium. I explain myself. Madam de Rhodes, who still continued to keep a great correspondence with the Lord-Keeper, rejoiced him much, by making him believe that her credit with me, by the means of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, would be great enough to oblige me not to break with him for the last trick  
he

he had played me. He had deprived me of the hat as he believed, and he thought it a happiness for him to find a friend that undertook to gild that pill and to make me swallow it, leaving him thereby room to remain united to a cabal that opposed Mazarin, in which he found his account, though he had appeared to have detached himself from it, which was likewise his true game. It was of so great importance to us not to let the Cardinal unite with the Lord-keeper, who was acquainted with all our doings, as having been one of ours, and even a great sharer with us, except in what related to my hat, that I took or feigned to take, for good, the turn which he was pleased to give to what had passed concerning me at Fontainebleau. He acted his part very well in this comedy, and I did not act mine ill. I told him that in my opinion it would have been impossible for him to do otherwise than he had done, considering the circumstances. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who called him her papa, did wonders. We supped at his house, where he treated us with a comedy all manner of ways; and as he was a great virtuoso in toys, and wore small rings in abundance upon all his fingers, we spent part of the evening in reasoning - - - - -

- - - - - were not unuseful to us, and that they cost Mazarin dear. He flattered himself that Madam de Rhodes amused me by the means of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, fancying that the first made this last believe whatever he pleased. He could not doubt in the least but that the Lord-Keeper and I were upon the worst terms possible one with another; and I know that when he found that we had come to an agreement together purposely to drive him away, he swore that nothing that had happened to him during his whole life had surprized him so much as this.

Madam de Rhodes was no less useful to us with the Princess Palatine. I have told you that she had been extremely courted by that Princess, so that you may judge how kindly she was received. She adjusted all previous matters with her very artfully. I saw the Princess in the night-time, and admired her. I found her of a surprizing capacity, which appeared to me chiefly in this, that she knew where to fix. This is a very rare qualification, and is a sign of an understanding much above the common rate. She was glad to see me so uneasy, in regard to secrecy, because she was not less so herself. I told her plainly that the Frondeurs were afraid that the Prince's partisans should discover us to the Cardinal, with an intent of hastening his coming to an accommodation with them. She on the other side owned to me that those of the

the Prince's party feared the like usage from us. Whereupon, having engaged my faith and honour that we would hearken to no manner of proposals coming from the court, I saw her in a transport of joy which I cannot express. It was not possible for her, she told me, to engage in the like manner, because the prince was in a condition that obliged him to hearken to any proposals that would set him free. But she would pass her word, she said, that if I would treat with her, the first article should be, that notwithstanding any thing whatsoever which the Prince should promise the court, that should never bind him to the prejudice of what should be agreed upon between us. We then began to enter into particulars. I communicated to her my thoughts, and she hers to me; and after two hours conference, 'I perceive, said she, that we shall quickly be of the same party, if we are not already. I will keep nothing hid from you.' She thereupon took from underneath her pillow (for she was in bed) eight or ten bundles of letters in cypher, and of blanks signed by the Prince; she confided in me, and we went about drawing a memorandum of all that we had to do on either side; which was this.

The Princess Palatine was to tell the Duke de Nemours, the President Viole, Arnauld and Croissi, that the Frondeurs shewed some inclination to serve the Prince, but that she much feared that the Coadjutor's intention was to make use of the Prince's party to bring down the Cardinal, and not to procure the liberty of the Princes; that the person that came to her from the Frondeurs, and who desired not to be named, had spoke so ambiguously, that she entered into some distrust; that at all events she thought it fit to hear what they said, but that they ought to stand much upon their guard for fear of double-dealing. The Princess thought it necessary for her to speak at first in this manner, because it was of importance to the service of the Princes, that she should remove from the minds of a great many persons of their party the opinion they had that she was too much alienated from the court; she did it likewise to spread among those of that party a distrust of the Frondeurs that might reach the court, and prevent the fear of their reunion from becoming too great there.

'If I was, said that Princess to me, of the same opinion with those who believe that Mazarin may resolve upon setting the Prince of Condé at liberty, I should do the Prince but an ill piece of service, in following what I have proposed. But I am convinced by all that I have seen of  
' the



the Cardinal's conduct since the Prince's imprisonment, that he will never consent to his enlargement. I am persuaded that the only way to procure that enlargement, is to put ourselves into your hands, which we should do but by halves, if we did not put you into a condition of guarding yourself against the snares, which those of the Prince's party, that are of an opinion contrary to mine, will think to lay for you, and which in the event would prove to be laid for the Prince himself. I know that I run a hazard in this, and that you may make an ill use of the trust I repose in you; but I know that I cannot serve the Prince without running some hazard, and that in the present conjuncture, there is no other way of serving him but by acting exactly as I do. I have your own example for it; you have trusted yourself into my hands upon my bare word.

I was naturally inclined to serve the Prince; but if I had not, I believe that this frank and skilful way of proceeding of the Princess, had engaged me to it. I began to love her, finding that the trust she shewed me in explaining her reasons was no less kind, than her ability was great in persuading me that these reasons were good. She no sooner saw that I no longer repaid her frankness by way of general compliments upon the truth of the facts, but by a like sincerity in opening myself upon the motives, than she left writing what she was about. She gave me the whole plan of her party. She told me that the first President was for setting the Prince of Condé at liberty, being moved to it both by his own inclination, and by Champlatreux his son; but that he hoped to have it by means of the court, and was against having it by a war; that the Marechal de Grammont was for it more than any man in France, but that she knew nobody more proper than he to fasten his bonds, because he would for ever be the dupe of the minister; that Madam de Montbazou was every day putting them in hopes of bringing Mr. de Beaufort over to them, but that her sincerity was accounted worth nothing, and her credit but very little; that Arnauld and Viole were for the Prince's liberty, on account of their private interest, and that their greediness only supported their hopes; that Croissi was persuaded that there was nothing to be done but in conjunction with me; but that he was a man so passionate, that it was not yet time to open one's self to him; that Mr. de Nemours was no more than an agreeable phantom; that the only man to whom she would open herself, and by whose channel she would negotiate with me, should be Montreuil.

Having

Having said this, she went on upon our memorandum, of which you have seen the first article.

The second was, that when it should be thought necessary to bring the Fronde into play, we should begin by Madam de Montbazon, who would so firmly believe that Mr. de Beaufort's joining to the Prince's party would be wholly owing to her (though my task was to dispose him to it before-hand) that if the Cardinal should have any notice of it given him, that would serve to convince him that the Fronde was divided, so that instead of being frightened by such a notice, it would give him a greater boldness. The third article was, that she would open herself in respect to me, to nobody whatsoever, till such time as she had seen the minds of every one disposed to receive, what it should be thought fit to impart to them. This done, we swore to one another to act with an entire and perfect agreement, which we both of us performed.

The Duke of Orleans had approved of what I had done, which was but the plan of the steps which we were to take; but that was the thing that ought immediately to be determined, because there was not an instant wherein our measures might not have been disappointed by contrary steps. We had put off to the next night the discussing the conditions of our treaty, which is commonly what one begins with, but we made no difficulty in this occasion to leave it till last, because the Fronde had Carte-blanche offered them, and that the question was now, \* who should appear most civil. The Duke desired no other conditions but the Prince of Condé's friendship, the marriage of Mademoiselle d'Alençon † with the Duke d'Enguien, and the renovation of the Constablership. The Prince of Conti's abbies were offered me, but you will easily judge that I refused to accept of them. Mr. de Beaufort was well content with being left in the quiet possession of the admiralty, in which there was no difficulty. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was not sorry to become a Princess of the Blood by her marriage with the Prince of Conti, which was the first thing that the Princess Palatine offered to Madam de Rhodes. We agreed at this second meeting, that nothing of what I have now mentioned should be set down in writing, but at the time that each private treaty should be made, and that for the same reason on which our resolution to

\* *The French says, Qu'il ne s'agissoit pas de combattre d'honestetez; but it appears more reasonable to read, Qu'il ne s'agissoit que de combattre d'honestetez.*

† *The Duke of Orleans's daughter by his second wife.*

to make no general treaty was grounded. The Princess pressed me very much to receive in a formal manner the Prince's promise of not opposing my being made a Cardinal. You will see the reason I had not to accept it at that time. Posterity will hardly believe with what exactness these measures were kept. I remedied what was most likely to have broken them, which was the want of secrecy, and the infidelity of Madam Montbazon; (for both the Princess Palatine and I judged that it was time for Mr. de Beaufort to open his thoughts more than he had done to the Prince's friends.) I represented to that gentleman, that the hiding from Madam de Montbazon that either the Duke of Orleans or I were privy to his taking that step, would be very meritorious to him with that lady, and would put an end to her continually reproaching him with the ascendant I had over him. What I said made an impression upon him that pleased him mightily. Arnauld thought that he had done a miracle in behalf of his party, to have won over Mr. de Beaufort by Madam de Montbazon, though Madam de Nemours, the Duke's sister, assumed the honour of it to herself. The Princess Palatine gave herself and me the pleasure of making a jest of it every night. What is most wonderful is, that this treaty of Mr. de Beaufort was against all appearance kept very secret; that it was attended with no inconveniencies; and that it had only the effect that was desired, which was to let those that managed the Prince of Condé's affairs at Paris see that their only resource consisted not in Mazarin. One article of Mr. de Beaufort's treaty was, that he should do his best to oblige the Duke of Orleans to take upon him the protection of the Princes, promising besides even to break with the Coadjutor, if he insisted to be as obstinately bent against them as he had hitherto appeared. Madam de Montbazon had been neglected of late by the court, who valued neither her capacity nor fidelity, and who knew how insignificant her power was. That circumstance was not unuseful to us.

The Princess Palatine having given a sufficient time to her party for undeceiving themselves about the false hopes with which the court amused them; and having brought the minds of the people to the point that the Duke desired, I suffered myself to be seen into, more than I had used, by Arnauld and by Violle, who both made haste to tell the Princess this good piece of news. Croissi was the manager of our interview, which was had in the night-time at her own house. We had a conference, and we signed the treaty; Mr. de Beaufort signed it likewise, to convince those of the Prince's



party of our union, and that the treaty which he had signed alone before was not the right one. We agreed that this last treaty should be left in trust in the hands of Blancmesnil, who, though such as you know him to be, made at that time some figure, because he had been one of the first that inveighed in the parliament against Mazarin. The original of this treaty is in the hands of Caumartin, who being one day with me at Joigni, about eight or ten years since, found it forgotten in an old wardrobe press. What happened most diverting in the conference which I am now mentioning, was, that, as I had concerted it with the Princess Palatine, I seemed to know nothing of the Duke of Orleans's intentions, which was the main string, and the last to be touched upon; so they, in concert likewise with her, spoke not one word of what they knew of the Duke's mind in respect to this. There was this difference between them and me, that the Princess was willing that I should see the cards underneath, knowing that I should do no harm to the game, and that she kept them hid from them, for the reason which I am going to tell.

The Duke, as I have said more than once, though resolved upon a thing, was but very difficulty brought to resolve upon the means. This defect is one of the worst causes of the false steps which men take. His Royal Highness was for having the Princes set at liberty, but there were instants when he would have done it by the means of the court, which was a thing impossible; for if the court had been inclined that way, their first care had been to exclude the Duke from it, or at least to have suffered him to appear only for form's sake as a mute actor. He knew this very well, but he was weak, and his weakness made him sometimes follow blindly the Marechal de Grammont, who was himself continually led and amused by Mazarin.

I soon took notice of the effect which the Marechal de Grammont's long conversations worked upon the Duke; but as I thought that I could take that impression off at any time, by speaking but a few words, I neglected to mind it, not imagining that the Duke, whom I had seen so extremely apprehensive in respect to secrecy, could be capable of opening himself in the least to the man in the world whom he knew the least fit to be trusted. And yet I found myself deceived; for the Duke, who had not indeed owned to him that he was treating with the party of the Princes, by the means of the Frondeurs, had done almost a worse thing by discovering to him that the Frondeurs were treating with that party for themselves,

selves, and that they had tried to persuade him to do the like for himself, which he had refused, because he was unwilling to treat but jointly with the court, persuaded as he was that the ministers would act sincerely in it.

The first President and the Mareschal de Grammont, who acted both in concert, carried this important piece of news, for which they were valuing themselves, to Viole, to Croissi, and to Arnould, in order to prevent their confiding in the least in the Frondeurs, whose chief consideration consisted after all in the Duke. I leave you to judge how far this accident might have disappointed us, if the measures which I had concerted with the Princess Palatine had not prevented the evil. She made even use of this accident, for five or six days together, to confound what Viole's impetuosity had made a little too clear. Having done by that what she had in view, and finding that the *Comœdia in Comœdia* was now no longer seasonable, she made still a more cunning use of that accident towards the unravelling of the plot, which she did in the manner I am going to relate.

We thought it necessary that I should explain our whole project to the Duke, for the preventing such misunderstandings for the future, as being capable of disappointing the best concerted measures. I spoke to him freely, and mixed some resentment with my complaints. He repented of what he had done, though he would at first have excused it, by saying, that he had hid from the Mareschal de Grammont what was material; but that in truth he had thought that the making him believe that he was not so passionately fond of the Frondeurs as the Queen imagined, would have worked a good effect. After I had shewn him the consequence of this false step, in respect both to himself and to us, he was very eager in offering to do whatever should be necessary for the remedying it. He wrote an antedated letter as sent to me from Limours, whither he went pretty often, wherein he bantered with me in a very agreeable manner, on the subject of Mr. de Grammont's pretended negotiations with him. His raileries were so well circumstantiated, according to the account which I had received from the Princess Palatine, that it helped to make these negotiations appear more chimerical. That Princess shewed this letter, as a great secret, to Viole, to Arnould, and to Croissi. I seemed not to take it well, but was soon appeased. I joined with them in bantering the Mareschal, and from that day to the time that the Princes were set free, we continued to make a jest of him, and of the first President,

President, in such a manner, that it sometimes moved my pity for them.

We met with another small rub. The Lord-Keeper, who had joined again with us against Mazarin, feared extremely the Prince of Condé's being set at liberty, though he did not explain himself in this manner when he spoke to us; but knowing that Laigues was come into our project only because he wanted courage to resist me, he made use of him for the trying to retard our designs by Madam de Chevreuse's means. I took notice of it, and put a stop to it by means of her daughter, who shamed the mother so much for her being in suspense about the settlement intended for her, that she not only joined again with us, but was not of little use to us with the Duke, whose weakness had in it many degrees. There was a great distance in him betwixt a faint and a real will; betwixt such a will and a resolution to execute it; betwixt such a resolution and the chusing the means to bring it about; and betwixt this choice and the application of those means. It happened even pretty often that he stopped short in the middle of that application. Madam de Chevreuse helped us in this point; and Laigues himself, finding the business too far engaged, was not unuseful to us. Madam de Rhodes acted her part very well with the Lord-Keeper, who durst not besides declare himself openly. The Duke at last signed his treaty. Caumartin had it in one pocket, and a pen and ink in another. He got him between the two doors; he put the pen betwixt his fingers, and made him sign it as Madam de Chevreuse said, as if he had signed a contract with the devil, and had been afraid of being surprized in the fact by his good angel. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's marriage with the Prince of Conti was stipulated in this treaty. The promise of not opposing my promotion to the hat was likewise inserted in it, but in relation only to the article relating to the marriage, and with an express declaration of the Duke's, that he could not bring me to accept this promise of the Prince of Condé, till he had convinced me that the Prince of Conti, by quitting his profession, and by marrying, could no longer pretend to be made a Cardinal. The Princes acted in all these negotiations as if they had been entirely free. We wrote letters to them, and had their answers, and that correspondence between us was as punctual as that between Paris and Lyons. Bar, who had them under his keeping, was a man of but little sense; besides, the most cunning may be deceived in these occasions.

Cardinal



Cardinal Mazarin, who at the King's return from Guienne had for the second time been tickled with the people's acclamations, grew quickly weary of them. The Frondeurs, notwithstanding that, continued to keep the upper hand, and I continued to go as often as I used to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, which is now the Hôtel de Longueville, distant but one hundred steps from the Palais-royal, where the King was. I went thither every evening, and my centries were placed exactly at twenty steps distance from those of the guards. I cannot think of it even now without shame, and at that time I was ashamed of it inwardly. But it appeared great to vulgar eyes, because it was bold, and excusable to others, because it was thought necessary. There was in truth no necessity for my going to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, but my constant going thither made it be thought otherwise, except by a very few; so great is the force of custom, chiefly in factious times, in favour of those that have won the people's heart. I desire that you would remember what I have said in my first book upon this subject. Nothing was more contrary to all that passed at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, than confirmations, conferences at St. Magloire, and such like occupations. But I had found out the art of reconciling them together, and that art justifies whatever it reconciles.

The Cardinal being weary of the alarms which the Abbot Fouquet had begun to give him at Paris, with a view of rendering himself necessary to him, and being likewise full of his capacity in war-affairs, left Paris about that time, hastily enough, and went into Champaign with a design of retaking Rhetel, and Château-Portien, which the enemies had occupied, and where Mr. de Turenne intended to winter. The Arch-duke, who had made himself master of Mouzon after a pretty obstinate siege, had given him a considerable body of troops, which being joined to those that had been gathered together by all the officers that were attached to the Princes, formed an army very fine, and well disposed. The Cardinal opposed to him one that was no less strong, for he joined to that which the Mareschal du Pleffis commanded already in that Province, the forces which the King had brought from Guienne, and some others, which Villequier and de Hocquincourt had kept intire, and had even increased during all the summer. I will relate the exploits of these two armies, after I have told you those that were done in the Parliament a little after the Cardinal's leaving Paris.

We resolved, in a council held at the Princess Palatine's, not to give the Minister any breathing-time, and to attack him.

him the very next day after the opening of the Parliament. The first President, who was extremely well disposed for the Prince, had sent his partisans word, that he would serve him with zeal in every thing which should be according to the forms of justice; but that if they made use of any factious steps, he could not serve him. He explained himself in the like manner to the President Viole, adding, that the Cardinal, who saw that the Parliament could not forbear doing justice at last to two Princes of the Blood that asked for it, and against whom there was no charge brought, would infallibly yield, provided that they gave him no room to believe that any measures were taken with the Frondeurs; but that upon the least suspicion of a correspondence with them, there were no manner of extremities which he might not be capable of bringing things to, rather than to entertain the least thoughts about the releasing them. This is what the Queen, the Cardinal, and the subalterns were saying continually; this was what the first President and the Marechal de Grammont were willing to take for good and sincere; and this was what might have continued the Prince's imprisonment, it may be during Mazarin's whole life, if it had not been for the good sense and the firmness of the Princess Palatine. You see by this how necessary it was for us to keep our game hid, in a conjuncture where the being countenanced by the first President was of such concern, at least for the first opening of the scene. It must be owned, that never comedy was so well acted. The Duke of Orleans made the Marechal de Grammont believe that he was for the liberty of the Princes, but that he would have it only by the court, because there was no other way of having it without a civil war; and because he had discovered that the Frondeurs were against it in the main. The Princes friends told the first President, that knowing that our design was to deceive them, by making use of them against Mazarin, under pretence of serving the Prince, they designed to make use of us to procure the Prince's liberty, under pretence of opposing Mazarin. The manner in which I behaved myself gave these discourses and these suspicions all possible appearance of truth, and this behaviour produced all the effect we desired. It animated in favour of the Princes, the first President, and all those of the Parliament that had any dislike for the Fronde. It prevented the Cardinal's hastening to take some resolution that had not pleased us, because it gave him room to hope that it would be in his power to destroy both parties by means of each other; and it covered so well our march, that they did not so much as  
take

take the least notice at court of the advices they received there from all parts against us. They thought that they knew the right side of the cards. The first President could not help sometimes speaking in the Parliament some ambiguous words, the meaning of which he thought we understood not, though we had had them explained to us the day before at the Princess Palatine's. There we used to laugh at the Mareschal de Grammont for his saying that we should quickly be caught in a trap. In short, there happened upon that subject a thousand farces worthy the ridicule of Moliere. Let us return to the Parliament.

St. Martin's day, of the year 1650, being come, the first President and the Advocate-General Talon exhorted the company to remain quiet, that they might give no advantage to the enemies of the kingdom. Deslandes Payen, a Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, said that he was charged the night before at nine o'clock with a petition of the Princess of Condé, which was read. She therein desired that the Princess should be brought to the Louvre, to be kept there by an officer of the King's household; that the Attorney-General should be ordered to declare if he had any thing to charge them with, in default whereof they should proceed to set them at liberty. A thing comical enough about this petition was, that it had been agreed to two days before at the Princess Palatine's by Croissi, Viole, and me; and that it was drawn up the day after at the first President's, who was saying to the two others, 'This is what I call serving the Princes according to law, and like honest, not like factitious men.' The petition was received according to the usual form. It was referred to the King's Council; and the Wednesday ensuing, which was the seventh of December, was the day named to deliberate upon it.

On that day the chambers being assembled, the Advocate-General Talon, who had been sent for to take his conclusions upon that petition, said, that the day before the Queen had sent for the King's Council, and had ordered them to let the company know, that her intention was that the parliament should forbear taking cognizance of the petition presented by the Princess of Condé, because every thing that had relation to the improvement of the Princes belonged only to the royal authority. Talon's conclusions, in the name of the Attorney-General, were therefore, that the parliament should by deputies of their own send the petition to the Queen, with their supplications that she would have some regard to it. Talon had hardly done speaking, when Crespin, the eldest Counsellor



Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, presented another petition of Mademoiselle de Longueville's, \* whereby she asked the liberty of her father, and leave for her to stay at Paris to solicit for it.

That petition was no sooner read but the Ushers brought word that Desroches, Captain of the Prince of Condé's guards, was at the door, and begged of the company to be admitted, having a letter from the three Princes to present to them. Leave was given to hear him. He said that a trooper belonging to the horse that had carried the Princes to Havre de Grace, had brought him that letter. The letter was read, and the contents were, that the Princes required either to be tried or to be set at liberty.

On Friday the ninth, the parliament being assembled in order to deliberate, Saintot, Lieutenant of the Ceremonies, brought the company a *lettre de cachet*, whereby the King ordered them to supersede all their deliberations till they had sent deputies to his Majesty to know his pleasure.

Deputies were sent that very afternoon. The Queen received the deputies in bed, and told them that she found herself very ill. The Lord-Keeper added, that the King's intention was, that the parliament should forbear assembling for any cause whatsoever until the Queen his mother's health was in some measure restored, that she might apply herself the more earnestly to give them satisfaction.

Upon the tenth, the Parliament resolved to put off their assembling for no longer a time than to the fourteenth; and that same day Crespin, not knowing what advice to take, proposed, that they should address to the Archbishop of Paris for a general procession, with prayers to God that he would inspire them with none but good resolutions.

Upon the fourteenth, a *lettre de cachet* was brought to prevent their deliberations, with assurances in it that the Queen would quickly give them satisfaction in what related to the Princes. The company shewed no regard for the letter. Le Nain, Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, proposed the inviting the Duke of Orleans to come and take his place among them, which was put to the vote, and carried by a majority of voices. But you may judge, by what you have seen before, that it was not yet time for the Duke to appear there. His answer therefore to the deputies was, that he would not come to the Parliament; that the noise there was too great, and

\* *Since Dutchesse de Nemours. See, concerning her, the note in the Preface.*

and that they were now but a confused assembly; that he did not conceive what it was the company meant; that their taking any cognizance of affairs of this nature was a thing altogether unheard of; that there was nothing to be done but to send back the petitions to the Queen. You are to observe, that this answer, which had been agreed upon at the Princess Palatine's, appeared, by the Duke's address, to have been inspired to him by the court. He would not give it to Doujat and Menardeau, who had been deputed to him, till he had conferred about it with the Queen. He gave, in this conference, such a nice turn to his going to the Parliament in this juncture, that it obliged the Queen to desire him to forbear it. What he said to the deputies confirmed the court entirely in their opinion, that the Marechal de Grammont saw clearly into his real intentions; and it served to persuade the first President more and more, that the Frondeurs would remain the bubbles of this intrigue. As he was not himself Mazarin's bubble, near so much as the Marechal de Grammont, he was not sorry to see the Parliament give that Minister now and then a brush; and though he always seemed willing to put by the blows, it was no hard matter to find out, sometimes by what he himself said, and always by what those of the company that were his creatures said, that he was for setting the Princes at liberty, though not by a civil war.

The deliberation was continued upon the fifteenth.

It was likewise continued on the seventeenth, with this difference, that Deslandes Payen, who was the Judge to whom the petition of the Princes was referred, having been asked by the first President if he had nothing to add to his opinion, which he had delivered to the company upon the fourteenth, and repeated the fifteenth, said, that if the company approved of his adding to the remonstrances which he was to make for the liberty of the Princes, both *viva voce*, and in writing a complaint in form against Cardinal Mazarin's conduct, he should not be against it. Broussel delivered his opinion in a stronger manner still against that minister. I do not know what reason the first President had to occasion, by the question he asked, this addition to the Judge's report, but I know very well that he was not blamed for it at the Palace-Royal, and that they liked it the better there for the mention made in it of the Cardinal.

On the 18th came the news of the Marechal du Pleffis's having given Mr. de Turenne a great overthrow; that this last coming to the relief of Rhetel (and finding it already surrendered to the Marechal du Pleffis by Delliponti who commanded

commanded there, because the Spanish garrison would retire) had been forced to fight in the plain of Saumepuis; that he and but four more had made their escape with much difficulty, after having himself done wonders there; that there had been 2000 of his men killed upon the spot, and amongst that number a brother of the Elector Palatine, and six Colonels; and near 4000 taken prisoners, among whom were Don Esteven de Gamarre the second person of the army, Bouteville, who is at present Duke of Luxemburgh, the Count de Bossu, the Count de Quintin Harcourt, Sensy, the Chevalier de Jerfai, and all the Colonels. The news added that he had lost twenty colours and eighty-four standards. You may guess at the consternation of the party of the Princes. I had all night long at my house none but crying and despairing people, and I found the Duke of Orleans cast down to the last degree.

Upon the 19th I went to the parliament where the chambers were to assemble. The people in the streets appeared pensive, dejected and frightened. It was chiefly at that time that I was convinced how well the first President was affected to the Princes; for Mr. de Rhodes, great Master of the ceremonies, being come to command the parliament in the King's name to be present the next day at Nôtre Dame, at the Te Deum for the victory, the first President made use of this opportunity that offered itself, to let but a few debate in a conjuncture where he foresaw that nobody would do it but very faintly. He found means to spin out the time, so that not above fifteen or sixteen Counsellors spoke. Most of them proposed indeed a remonstrance for the liberty of the Princes, but without any heat or vigour, nay with timorousness, as not daring to say a word against Mazarin. Menardeau Champré was the only man that mentioned his name, which he did with mighty commendations, giving him the sole honour of the victory at Rhetel, and saying, as it was true, that he had forced the Marechal du Pleisis to give battle. He said further to the company, that the wisest step they could take was to pray the Queen to leave the Princes to the tuition of this good and wise minister, who would be as careful of them as he had hitherto been of the state. What surprized me was not only that he that spoke this was not hissed in the assembly of the chambers, but that even when he passed through the hall where there was a vast croud of people, not one soul offered to speak a word against him. This circumstance, which discovered to the bottom the dejection of the people, added to all that I perceived in the afternoon among the old and the

new



new Fronde (this last was made up of the Prince's party) put me upon resolving to declare myself the next day, in order to raise up the people's spirits. The medium I used was the leaving in my speech, which was to appear in the main favourable to the Princes, a door which Mazarin and the first President might think that I kept open, on purpose to avoid my engaging to serve them in relation to their liberty. I knew the first President for a man that looked only before him, and those of that character never fail swallowing greedily all manner of appearances that confirm them in the opinion they were of before. On the other hand, I knew Mazarin to be a man who could never help believing but that there was always a back door kept open, when there was the least room for it. *It is almost a sure game with men of this character, to make them believe that one intends to deceive those that one intends really to serve.* Upon this ground, I resolved to speak vigorously the next day against the disorders in the state, taking for my theme, that it having pleased God to favour our arms, and to remove the enemies from our frontiers by the Marechal du Pleffis's victory, we had means offered us to consider seriously of the inward distempers of the state, which are the most dangerous; to this I designed to add, that I thought myself obliged to speak upon the oppression of the people, at a time when complaining could no longer be of any advantage to the Spaniards, whom this last defeat had altogether dispirited; that one of the best means for the supporting the state, was the preservation of the members of the royal family; that I could not therefore see but with an extreme sorrow, the Princes in so bad an air as that of Havre de Grace, and that my opinion was, that most humble remonstrances should be made to the King to take them from thence, and remove them at least to some healthful place. I thought not fit to mention Mazarin's name, that I might leave him, as well as the first President, room to believe that that regard might possibly be the effect of some after-thought, proceeding perhaps from a desire of reconciling myself to him the more easily, after having excited and incensed against him the Prince's party by making this declaration, which not being for the Prince's liberty, engaged me to nothing for the time to come. I communicated this thought to Madam de Lesdiguieres, to the Princes Palatine, Madam de Chevreuse, Viole, Arnauld, Croissy, the President de Bellievre, and Caumartin. Nobody but this last approved of it, the rest saying that it was necessary to give people time to recover their spirits. But there were no hopes  
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of that without some help. This made me contend for the thing, and my obstinacy carried it. I saw however that if I did not succeed, I should be disapproved by some and blamed by all. The stroke was so necessary, that I thought that I ought to hazard it at my own peril.

I did so upon the 20th, and I spoke in the manner that I had designed. Every one took heart, concluding that the game might still be saved. The first President did as I had foreseen. He told the President le Coigneux, after the parliament was up, that my advice had been very craftily worded, but that through it, one might perceive my animosity against the Princes. The President de Mesmes was the only man that was not deceived. He judged that I had made my accommodation with the Princes, and was so much grieved at it, that there were some that believed that his grief contributed to his death, which happened soon after. There were but few that spoke that day, because we were to be at the Te-Deum; but it was easy to observe that the minds of people and their countenances were much altered. Those in the Great Hall, who were told it by those that were in the lanterns, renewed their first zeal. We were saluted at our coming out, with the usual acclamations, and I had that day 300 coaches at my house.

The deliberation was continued upon the 22d, where it was more and more perceived that the parliament did not follow Mazarin's triumphal chariot. His imprudence in hazarding the whole kingdom in the last battle, was taken notice of, and represented with all the colours that were thought proper to tarnish his victory.

The deliberation of the 30th crowned the work. They produced the arrest which ordered that most humble remonstrances should be made to the Queen for the liberty of the Princes, and for leave for Mademoiselle de Longueville to stay at Paris.

The deputing a President and two Counsellors to the Duke of Orleans, was likewise ordered, to desire that he would employ his authority to the same effect. It would be unjust in me to forget here the mentioning Mr. de Beaufort's speech on which the famous ballad was made. I had made him on what he was to speak till two in the morning at Madam de Montbazon's, that he might in so nice a juncture speak at least somewhat consistently. You see how well I succeeded, by the ballad, which is in truth rendered word for word from  
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the prose. \* Admire however how strong fancy is. Old Machaut, the eldest Counsellor in the Council-chamber, who was far from being a fool, whispered to me after he had heard Mr. de Beaufort's speech: 'It is plain that this is none of his own.' And what is still more wonderful was, that the courtiers suspected some artifice in that speech. When I asked Mr. de Beaufort why he mentioned the Duke of Orleans in his speech, who was not present, and could not give his opinion; he told me that he did it to puzzle the first President. This answer is worth the speech.

The King's council having demanded audience of the Queen about the remonstrances, she put it off for a week, under pretence of what she was prescribed to do by her physicians. The Duke answered the President de Novion, who had been deputed to him, in an ambiguous manner. The Queen was kept up by her physicians for eight or ten days longer than she had designed, or at least declared, and the remonstrances were not made till the 20th of January, 1651. They were express in very strong terms, and the first President omitted nothing to render them effectual.

The 21st, as he was about making his report, he was prevented by a confused noise that was heard of a sudden from the seats of those of the inquests, who desired him to put off this report, that concerned only the liberty of the two Princes of the blood, and the quiet or disturbance of the state; that they might deliberate upon a thing of a much greater importance, which was a pretended encroachment of the Lord-Keeper's upon the parliament's jurisdiction, in the person of one of the King's secretaries. This trifle took up all that morning, and was the cause that the first President did not make his report until the 23th. The conclusion of that report was, that the Queen would answer the remonstrances in a few days.

We had notice given us at that time, that the Cardinal, who was come back to Paris after the victory at Rhetel, only because he made no doubt of his being able to overthrow all  
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\* *The purport of his speech was this: 'We have three points in this affair: first the Princes, whom I honour and revere, and will therefore say nothing of them. The second is his eminence Cardinal Mazarin: as for my part, without going about the busb, I love my country, and always went roundly to work: my heart is like my countenance, and I love noble sentiments. I therefore conclude and give my opinion as the Duke of Orleans will do.'*



his enemies, finding himself deceived in his expectation, thought of removing the King from that place. We likewise learnt that Beloy, who was devoted to the Cardinal though he belonged to the Duke, had said that his Royal Highness, who at the bottom was against a civil war, would certainly follow the court. Madam de Frenoy told Fremont, from whom she hid nothing because he lent her money, that her husband, who belonged to the Dutcheſs of Orleans and who held correspondence with Beloy, was of the ſame opinion about the Duke's following the court, having juſt ground to think ſo. We thought that lady not rightly informed, but as it was impoſſible to depend entirely upon the Duke's mind till he had declared himſelf openly, and conſidering beſides that the parliament was ſo far engaged for the liberty of the Princes, and that the firſt Preſident had declared himſelf ſo openly about it, that there was no longer any room to fear their going back, we judged that the Duke of Orleans might now ſpeak without danger, or that at leaſt that danger could not weigh down the neceſſity which we thought there was of engaging him to declare himſelf. For ſuppoſing that the King ſhould remove from Paris, we were very ſure that the Duke would not follow him, if he was once come to a publick rupture with the Cardinal; whereas we could not depend on him, if the court reſolved upon leaving Paris before that rupture. We made uſe of the impertinent delays of the parliament, which I have mentioned, to put the Duke in fear of the court's following the like ſteps by ſome other diverſions, which they had a thouſand means to bring about at a juncture when moments were precious, and when a ſingle inſtant was enough to confound the wiſeſt reſolutions in the world. We ſpent two or three days before we could perſuade the Duke that the time for diſſembling was paſt. He ſaw it, and was ſenſible of it as much as we were. But *irreſolute minds never follow either their views or their ſentiments, ſo long as they have any excuſe left not to determine themſelves.* That which he mentioned to us, was, that if he declared himſelf, the King would leave Paris, and ſo we muſt come to a civil war. We answered him, that being as he was Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, it was in his power to prevent the King's removal, and that the Queen could not reſuſe, in a time of minority, the giving what ſureties ſhould be required of her upon that account. The Duke liſted up his ſhoulders; he put the thing off from the morning till the afternoon, and from the afternoon till night. *One of the greateſt troubles that one has with Princes, is the*

*the being often obliged out of regard to their own service to give them advice, which one dares not tell them the true reason of.* The reason we had to speak as we did was our fear, or rather certainty, of the Duke's weakness, and that was exactly the reason we durst not mention. By good fortune for us, the man against whom we acted, shewed still more imprudence, than he for whom we acted shewed weakness. For just three or four days before the Queen answered the parliament's remonstrances, Mazarin spoke to the Duke in pretty high terms, in relation to the trust he reposed in me. The very day that the answer was given, which was the last of January, he spoke still higher. For being with the Duke in the Queen's little grey chamber, he compared the parliament of Paris, Mr. de Beaufort, and me, to the English House of Commons, to Fairfax, and to Cromwell, and addressing himself to the King, who was present, he exclaimed against us all in a great passion. He frightened the Duke, who was so glad when he found himself got safely out of the Palais-royal, that as he went into his coach he told Jouy, who belonged to him, that he would never any more put himself into the hands of that enraged fury, which was the name he gave the Queen, because she had gone beyond all that the Cardinal had said to the King. Jouy, who was my friend, gave me notice of the Duke's disposition, which I made use of whilst he was warm, for fear he should cool again. We joined together, Mr. de Beaufort and I, to oblige him to declare himself at the parliament the very next day. We represented to him, that after what had passed, no medium that he could take could now secure him, and that if the King removed from Paris we should fall into a civil war, where he was like to be left alone with Paris only, because the Cardinal, who had the Princes in his hands, would come to articles with them. We told the Duke further, that he knew better than any body, that we had rather kept him back than forwarded him, whilst we thought that we could amuse Mazarin; but that the thing being now come to its maturity, we should be both useless and unfaithful servants to his Royal Highness, if we did not acquaint him that there was no more time to be lost, except he resolved upon losing all manner of trust with the party of the Princes, who begun already to suspect his inaction; that the Cardinal must be blind to the last degree to have missed this opportunity of negotiating with them, and of assuming the merit of setting the Princes free, when, as the event shewed, his Royal Highness had appeared afraid of setting them at liberty;

berty; that in this case, all that the Frondeurs had said or done would pass only for an artifice; that we did not doubt but that the court was upon the point of negotiating; that the Queen's answer to the parliament was a sure sign of it, considering her promise of setting the Princes free as soon as their party should be disarmed; that that answer was capacious, but positive; that it engaged the court necessarily, and without even the least pretence of avoiding it in a negotiation with the party of the Princes, which the Cardinal would easily shift off, if the Duke did not declare himself, or would turn against him, if he declared but by halves; that it would be equally shameful and dangerous to his Royal Highness, either to suffer the Princes to remain prisoners after having treated with them, or to give Mazarin an opportunity of making them believe that he was himself the true author of their liberty; that a further delay would infallibly occasion these inconveniencies; that perhaps the matter might come the next day to a decision, because that depended upon the manner in which the parliament would receive the report of the Queen's answer; that there would be nothing doubtful in the case, if his Royal Highness would be present there, because that would assure the liberty of the Princes, and would give him the honour of it.

We were from eight at night till twelve preaching in this manner; and the Dutchess, whom we had sent for by the Viscount d'Autel, \* Captain of the Duke's guards, did all that was possible to persuade him, which it was not in her power to do. She fell even into a passion at him, and spoke in an angry manner, which she told us she had never done before, and as he was raising his voice, saying, that if he went to the parliament to declare against the court, the Cardinal would carry the King away; she began to raise her voice likewise, saying, 'Who are you, Sir? Are you not Lieutenant-general of the kingdom? Have you not the command of the armies? Are you not master of the people? I will answer for it, that I am alone able to prevent it.' This did not move the Duke, and all that we could draw from him was, that I should speak the next day at the parliament, and say as from him, and in his name, all that we desired that he should say there himself. In short, he would have me to try the adventure, the issue of which he looked upon

\* *Ferry de Choiseul, youngest brother to the Duke de Choiseul, Marechal of France, who went by the name of Marechal du Plessis.*



upon to be very uncertain, because he believed that the parliament would have nothing to say against the Queen's answer; so that his way of reasoning was, that he should have both the honour and the profit of my proposal, if it succeeded; and that if the parliament contented themselves with the Queen's answer, that he should find an excuse for what I had said, by explaining it after his own manner, that is, by civilly disowning it. I perceived his intention very clearly, but it kept me not in suspense, because all depended upon this, and if I had not carried the next day, as I did, his declaration to the parliament, I am still persuaded that the Cardinal would have shifted off for a long time the liberty of the Princes, and that the end of it would have been a negotiation with them against his Royal Highness. The Dutchess, who saw that I was exposing myself for the publick good, took pity on me. She did whatever she could to oblige the Duke to command me to acquaint the parliament with what the Cardinal had told the King, about the English house of Commons, Fairfax and Cromwell, thinking by that means to engage his Royal Highness the more. She was in the right; but the Duke forbid it me expressly, and, in my opinion, for fear of that engagement, which convinced me the more that he would expect the event before he went further.

I ran up and down all the rest of the night, to desire my friends that they would begin the next morning in the parliament, to grumble at the Queen's answer, which was certainly plausible, the Queen saying, that though it did not belong to the parliament to take cognizance of that affair, she was willing, by an effect of her excessive goodness, to have a regard to their supplications, and to grant the Princes their liberty. That answer contained besides a positive promise of an abolition for all those that had taken up arms. There was for the granting of this but some little preliminary conditions, which were, that Mr. de Turenne should lay down his arms; that Madam de Longueville should break her treaty with Spain, and that Stenay and Mouzon should be evacuated. I have learnt since that this answer had been insinuated to Mazarin by the Lord-Keeper. It is certain that the first President was struck with it, and that he would have made it pass for good in the parliament the last of January, which was the day that he made his report of what had passed the day before at the Palais-royal; that the Mareschal de Grammont, who believed the answer to be a good one, had so well disguised it to the Duke, that he thought it impossible

that it could be contradicted; that the same day that the first President reported it, the Parliament came into it almost as blindly as that gentleman had himself done. It is not less certain that the next day, which was Wednesday the first of February, every body saw the delusion, and were astonished at themselves. The inquests began by a humming noise, after which the first President was asked whether the declaration was dispatched, and his answer being that the Lord-Keeper had asked for a day or two to prepare it, Viole said, that the answer which had been reported to the parliament was nothing but a trap laid to amuse them; that before they could have Madam de Longueville and Mr. de Turenne's answer, the time fixed upon for the King's coronation, which was said to be the 14th of March, would arrive; that the court being removed from Paris, the parliament would then be laughed at. Both the Frondes rose up at this speech, and when I perceived them to be much heated, I made a sign with my cap, and said: 'That the Duke of Orleans had commanded me to assure the company, that the regard he had for their sentiments having confirmed him in those which he naturally had ever entertained for the Princes his cousins, he was resolved to concur with them for their liberty, and to contribute to it all that lay in his power.' You cannot conceive the effect which these few words had. I was surprized at myself. The wisest appeared to me as mad as the people, and the people madder than ever. The acclamations went beyond whatever you can fancy. But nothing less than this was necessary to remove the Duke's fears, who during the whole night had brought forth projects with much more pain, said the Dutchess to me that morning, than I ever felt in bringing forth all my children. I found him in the gallery, and thirty or forty Counsellors with him, who were loading him with praises. He took every one of them aside to inform himself about the success, that he might be entirely sure of it; and at every word that confirmed his hopes, he used Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had been with him all that morning, less and less kindly. That gentleman, who since the peace at Paris had delivered up himself soul and body into the Cardinal's hands, was one of those whom he had made use of to negotiate with the Duke.

When the Duke was once fully satisfied that his declaration had been received with so much applause, he embraced me five or six times before all that were present; and le Tellier coming from the Queen to ask him if he owned what I had said in his name at the parliament, 'Yes,' answered he,  
 'I own

‘I own it, and shall always own all that he shall do or say in my name.’ We thought that after so solemn a declaration the Duke would make no difficulty to provide against the Cardinal’s carrying away the King, to which effect the Dutchess proposed his causing the city-gates to be guarded, under pretence of some popular tumult. But it was not in her power to persuade him to it, because, as he said, he made a scruple of keeping his King a prisoner.

The party of the Princes pressing him extremely about it, saying, that on that depended the liberty of the Princes, he told them that he would take off the distrust, which they seemed to have of him, by what he would immediately do. He sent accordingly for the Lord-Keeper, for the Mareschal de Villeroy, and for le Tellier. He commanded them to tell the Queen that he would never go to the Palais-royal, so long as the Cardinal was there, because he could no longer have any thing to do with a man that ruined the state. Then addressing himself to the Mareschal de Villeroy: ‘I charge you,’ said he, ‘with the King’s person, for which you shall be answerable to me.’ I heard of this fine doing a quarter of an hour after, at which I was very much grieved, because I looked upon it as the likeliest way to drive the King from Paris, which was the only thing we were afraid of. I never could learn what obliged the Cardinal to keep his Majesty there, after this open step of the Duke’s. The only cause I can assign to it is, that his head was grown perfectly giddy; which Servien, whom I questioned about it since, agreed with me in. He said that the Cardinal for twelve or fifteen days before this, was not the same man. This scene happened at the Palais of Orleans the second of February.

Upon the third, there happened another at the Parliament. The Duke, who had ceased to preserve any regard for Mazarin, and who was resolved to attack him personally, and even to drive him away, commanded me to acquaint the company, in his name, of his comparing the Parliament of Paris to the House of Commons in England, and some private persons to Fairfax and Cromwell. I alledged this as the cause of the Duke’s rupture with Mazarin, and I embellished it with all manner of colours. I may say, without exaggeration, that there never was such a heat in any place as there was in this at that instant. Some were for securing his person; some for having him brought immediately before the company, to give an account of his administration; the



most moderate proposed to make the Queen a most humble remonstrance for his removal. You may guess at the dejection this clap of thunder occasioned at the Palais-royal. The Queen sent to the Duke to desire his consent for her bringing the Cardinal to him. He sent her word back, that he feared there was no safety for him in that. She offered to come all alone to the palace of Orleans. He declined it with a great deal of respect, but however he declined it. He sent an hour after to the Mareschals of France, forbidding them to obey any other orders but his, as being Lieutenant-General of the State; and to the Prevost des Marchands, not to suffer the people to take up arms but by his leave. You will certainly wonder that after these steps he did not pursue the matter so far as to secure the gates of Paris, to prevent the King's going. The Dutcheis, who feared it extremely, renewed every day her efforts; but they served only to shew that a man, weak by nature, can never become altogether strong.

The Duke came upon the fourth to the Parliament, where he assured the company, that he would go on with them, in a perfect concert, in what related to the good of the state, to the liberty of the Princes, and to the removal of the Cardinal. As the Duke was ending his speech, the King's Council came in and acquainted the company that Mr. de Rhodes, Great Master of the Ceremonies, had a *lettre de cachet* from the King, which he desired to deliver to them. They were in some suspence about admitting him, upon the Duke's saying, that being Lieutenant-General of the State, he did not believe that during a minority such a letter could be sent without imparting it to him. Being however of opinion, as he expressed it to the company, that it ought to be received, Mr. de Rhodes was desired to come in. The letter was read, which contained an order to the company for separating, and for going as many of them as was possible in the quality of deputies to the Palace-Royal, there to learn the King's pleasure. The company resolved to obey so far as to send deputies immediately thither, but without leaving the grand-chamber till the return of their deputies. As we were rising to go to the fire, I received a note from Madam de Lesdiguieres, to inform me, that the day before Servien had concerted with the Lord-Keeper and with the first President the trick that would presently be played; that she could not learn any particulars, but only that it was designed against me. I acquainted the Duke of Orleans with this, who told me, that as to the first President he expected some

some such thing from him, because he was for the liberty of the Princes by no other means but that of the court; but that if the old pantaloön (so he called the Lord-Keeper Chateaufneuf, because he always wore a short jacket and a little hat) was guilty of such a foolish and, at the same time, such a treacherous design, he deserved to be hanged upon the same gallows as Mazarin. At that rate then he deserved it, for he was the author of the plot which you shall now hear.

As soon as the deputies were come to the Palais-royal, the first President, who was one of the number, told the Queen that the Parliament was extremely sorry to see, that notwithstanding the promises which her Majesty had been pleased to make for the liberty of the Princes, they had not received the declaration which the publick expected, as the effect as well of her goodness as of her promise. The Queen's answer was, that the Marechal de Grammont was gone [I will speak by and by of this journey] to set the Princes free, after having received from them such sureties as were necessary for the good of the state; that it was not upon this subject that they were sent for, but upon another that should be explained to them by the Lord-Keeper. The Lord-Keeper accordingly went about to explain it, but he spoke so low, under pretence of a cold, that nobody could hear him; but this was in my opinion only a feint to find room to give in writing a cutting manifesto against me, which Mr. du Pleffis could read but with a great deal of pain: but the Queen helped him now and then by speaking the words herself. This is what the paper contained. 'All the reports which the Coadjutor has made to the Parliament are false and contrived by him.' [Here the Queen added of her own, 'He lies.'] 'He is a man of a wicked and dangerous spirit, who gives the Duke of Orleans pernicious counsels. He is bent upon ruining the state, because he has been refused the Cardinal's hat; and he has publicly bragged that he would set the whole kingdom on fire, and stand round it with 100,000 men that are engaged with him to knock down all those that would offer to extinguish it.' These words which they made me speak are somewhat violent, and

I assure

*\* The account which Joly gives of this paper is different from this in several circumstances, as is his whole relation of what passed about this affair in the Parliament. See the first volume of Joly's Memoirs, from p. 103, to p. 113.*

I assure you that I had said nothing like it ; but they were proper enough to increase the storm, which they designed to divert from off the Cardinal's head, that it might fall upon mine. They saw the Parliament assembled in order to put out an arrest in favour of the Princes ; they saw the Duke of Orleans there, who had personally declared himself against Mazarin ; they saw the necessity of making a diversion, and they perceived, as they imagined, a possibility of bringing it about, by so new and so surprising a thing as the exposing the Coadjutor like a criminal to all the lashes that it should please the meanest of the company to give him, and that without leaving the Parliament any room to complain about the form. All manner of means were used that might inspire a respect for the attack, and that might weaken the defence. The paper was signed by the four Secretaries of State ; and in order to have more room to render useless at once what it was likely I should say in my justification, the Count de Brienne \* was ordered to come soon after the deputies, and to desire the Duke of Orleans to go to the Queen, and to confer with her in order to finish the little that was yet to be done about the releasing the Princes. You will see by the sequel, that this expedient had been found out by the Lord-Keeper with a double end : one was, to put off by some new incidents the company's deliberation, which tended directly to the liberty of the Princes ; the other was, to oblige the court to declare in so solemn a manner against my being made a Cardinal, that the honour of the royal word might stand engaged for my exclusion. This was what moved the Lord-Keeper to act in this manner. Servien, who carried this proposal to the first President, was received by him with open arms, because that magistrate being unwilling that the Prince of Condé should find himself united, at his coming out of prison, with the Duke of Orleans and with the Frondeurs, desired nothing more than to meet with an opportunity of putting off the liberty of the Prince (which he looked upon to be infallible all manner of ways) to a time when he would not owe it so intirely to them, as he would on this occasion. Menardeau, to whom this design was communicated, carried both his own and the court's hopes further ; for Mr. de Lionne has told me since, that that man had promised to open the advice of ordering the Attorney-General to take informations against me upon so authentick a complaint ; which, said he, will be of mighty use,

\* One of the four Secretaries of State.



use, both for the discrediting the Coadjutor, by proceeding against him in a manner that will put him \* *into the state of a person arraigned*, and by altering matters in regard to the Cardinal.

The deputies came back between eleven and twelve at noon to the Parliament, where the Duke had eat a mouthful at the Buvettes, that he might put an end that day to the deliberation. The first President affected to begin his report by reading the paper against me that had been put into his hands. He thought by that to strike people with surprize. He indeed succeeded as to that point, for surprize appeared in every body's countenance. Altho' I had had some general notice of this sent me, I knew nothing about the particulars; and I must own, that the manner in which this plot was woven, did not at all come into my head. As soon as I saw it, I perceived the consequences, which became still more sensible to me, when I saw the first President turning coldly to the left, and heard him say to the eldest Counsellor, 'Sir, your opinion.' I then no longer doubted but that this was a concerted thing; in which I was not mistaken. But Menardeau, who was to have opened the scene, became afraid of a volley from the hall. He had found there, in passing by, such a multitude of people, he had heard such acclamations given to the Fronde, and such curses against Mazarin, that he durst not do what he had proposed; and he contented himself with deploring pathetically, the divisions of the state, but chiefly those that appeared in the royal family. It is impossible for me to tell you the opinions of every one of those of the Grand Chamber, and I believe that they knew not themselves, when they spoke, what opinion they should be of, if they had not been pressed to declare it at the end of their discourse. Some were for prayers for forty hours; others for desiring the Duke to take care of the publick. Old Broussel, forgetting that they were met on purpose to treat of the affairs of the Princes, said nothing about the disorder of the state, which he blamed in general. But this was not to my purpose, because I knew that so long as the deliberation did not fall on the right subject, it might fall upon something that would not suit well with me. The place in which I was to speak, being just between the Grand Chamber and the Inquests, afforded me time to consider about my own concerns, and to come to a resolution, which was to speak of the paper against me, as of a satire and a libel; to strike,

\* *In Reatu.*

strike, by some short, but curious quotation, the imagination of those that were present; and then to set the deliberation a going in its right course. But my memory not supplying me with any thing to quote out of ancient authors, that related to my design, I made myself a Latin passage the most elegant I could, and that came nearest to the ancients; and when my turn came I spoke in this manner; 'If my respect for those that have declared their sentiments before me did not stop my mouth, I could not forbear complaining that they have not expressed their resentment at the indignity of that libel that has just now been read to this company, against all manner of form, and in which the same characters appear that have profaned the sacred name of the King, by raising up the witnesses by brevet. But perhaps those that have spoke before, have thought this libel, which is but a fall of the Cardinal's rage against me, beneath their notice and beneath mine. In compliance therefore to these sentiments, I shall answer it only with a passage out of an ancient author that comes into my mind: \* *In bad times I have not abandoned the city; in good ones I have had no private interest in view; and in desperate ones nothing could fright me.* I beg this company's pardon for taking the liberty to speak these few words that have no relation to the thing we are now to deliberate upon. My advice is, that we make most humble remonstrances to the King, desiring his Majesty to send forthwith a *lettre de cachet* for the liberty of the Princes, with a declaration in their behalf; and to remove Cardinal Mazarin from his presence and from his councils. My advice is likewise, gentlemen, that this company resolve this day upon assembling next Monday to receive the answer which it shall please his Majesty to make to our deputies.'

The Frondeurs applauded this advice; the party of the Princes looked upon it as the only way to set their Highnesses free; the thing was warmly debated; and my opinion passed unanimously; I dare assure at least that there were not three that opposed it.

My quotation, which has in Latin quite another grace and strength, was for a long time looked for. The first President, who was never amazed at any thing, spoke of the

*The Latin passage, as I find it in Joly, is, In difficilimis reip, temporibus urbem non deserui, in prosperis nihil de publico delibavi, in desperatis nihil timui. Vide Joly's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 113.*

necessity of removing the Cardinal, in as strong terms as those that were expressed in the arrest made about it, and with as much vigour as if he had himself proposed it; but he did it with a great deal of art, and in a manner that gave him even an opportunity of mentioning this arrest to the Duke, as a motive for him to have with the Queen the interview which Mr. de Brienne came in her name to desire. The Duke declining it, because it was not safe for him to go, the first President insisted upon it even till tears ran down his cheeks; and when he saw the Duke somewhat moved, he called for the King's Council. Talon, Advocate-General, made one of the finest speeches that was ever made on a like subject. I never heard or read any thing more eloquent. He mixt with his reasons whatever could serve to make them the more moving. He invoked the manes of Henry the great, and kneeling down, he called upon St. Lewis to protect the kingdom of France. You fancy perhaps that you had laughed at this spectacle; but it had moved you, as it did the whole company, upon whom it worked in such a manner, that the clamours of the inquests began, as I perceived, to decrease by it. The first President, who perceived it as well as I, was willing to take hold of this opportunity, to which purpose he proposed to the Duke to take the company's opinion about his going to the Queen. I remember that Barillon was one day relating to you this passage. When I saw that the Duke was wavering, and even began to say that he would do all that the Parliament should advise, I thought it time for me to speak; and I said, that the advice which his Royal Highness required, was not, whether he should or should not go to the Palace-royal, having already declared himself about that above twenty times; but that he only desired to know of the company which was the best way for him to excuse himself with the Queen for his not going. The Duke understood me, and became sensible that he had advanced a little too far; he approved of my explanation, and Brienne was sent back with this answer; that the Duke would wait on the Queen in the most dutiful manner, as soon as the Princes were at liberty, and the Cardinal removed from the King's presence and from his councils.

It is certain that we feared some desperate attempt from the Queen and the Cardinal, against the Duke, if he had gone to the Palace-royal. But means might have been found to prevent any such accident, if we had had nothing else to fear. What we feared much more was the Duke's weakness, which we had the greater reason to apprehend, because we



had observed that the Cardinal's delays, in relation to the liberty of the Princes, were grounded only on the hopes which he still entertained, that the Queen would regain the Duke; and it was with this view, that he had sent the Marechal de Grammont and Lionne to Havre de Grace, as if it was to agree with the Princes what sureties it was necessary they should give before they were restored to their liberty. This made the Duke believe that affair so near an end, that he was led by it to send with them Goulas his principal Secretary. He had promised it to the Marechal de Grammont on the first day of that month, and he repented it sorely upon the second in the morning, because I shewed him the consequences, which were the giving the Parliament to understand, that the Cardinal acted sincerely for the liberty of the Princes. The event proved my judgment to have been right; for the Marechal de Grammont, who left Paris that same day, after having said publickly at the Duke's, that the Princes were at liberty, and that without the Frondeurs, had only the pleasure of making them a visit. He went without any instructions, which he was told would be sent to him. But the minister finding the Duke got out of his snares, took other measures, and the poor marechal de Grammont, with the best intentions in the world, acted one of the most ridiculous parts that a man of his quality could do.

You will quickly have a convincing proof, that all the steps which the Cardinal had taken for some time together, or rather his outward appearances, towards the liberty of the Princes, were only with a view to disunite the Duke from them, under pretence of uniting him to the Queen. I have already told you that the remarkable scene, of the remonstrances for the removal of Mazarin, and of the Duke's refusing to see the Queen, happened on the 4th of February. But this was not the only scene given the publick. The old Duke de la Vieuville, the Marquis de Sourdis, the Count de Fiesque, Bethune and Montresor, formed the design of having an assembly of the nobility for the re-establishing their privileges. I opposed it strongly with the Duke of Orleans, because I was persuaded that nothing was more dangerous for a faction than to mix with it, without any necessity, what carries the face of faction. I had experienced it more than once; and I was sure that in this occasion every circumstance ought to have dissuaded them from that design. We had the Duke on our side, we had the Parliament, we had the town house. These three together seemed to make

up

up what was most considerable in the state, and any unlawful assembly mixt with them would but disfigure the whole. I was forced to yield to their desire, which I did however more in regard to Annery for the manner in which he had obliged me, as I have already mentioned, than for the others fancy. Annery was secretary to this assembly, but much more its enthusiast. It was held that day at the Hôtel de la Vieuville, and it put the Palais-Royal into a great fright, which made them mount there six companies of the guards. The Duke of Orleans was angry at this, and he sent word to Mr. d'Epéron Colonel of the infantry, and to Mr. de Schomberg Colonel of the Switzers, to receive no orders but from him, as being Lieutenant-General of the state. They answered him in a respectful manner, but like men however that were the Queen's.

The assembly of the nobility was held upon the 5th at Mr. de Nemours's.

Upon the 6th the chambers being assembled, and the Duke having taken his seat at the Parliament, the King's council came in, and told the company, that having been with the Queen about the remonstrances, her answer was, that she wished more than any body the deliverance of the Princes, but that it was necessary at the same time to consider of securing the kingdom; that as to what concerned the Cardinal, she should retain him in her counsels so long as she should judge it useful for the King's service, and that it did not belong to the Parliament to take any cognizance what minister she made use of.

The first President was exposed to all the reflecting words possible, for his insisting so little upon the remonstrance. It was proposed to send him back to the Palais-royal in the afternoon, and all the delay that he could obtain was but till the next day. The Duke complaining that the Mareschals of France were in the Cardinal's dependance, an arrest was immediately given, that ordered them to obey none but his Royal Highness.

At night as I was at home, Messieurs de Guimené and de Bethune came in, and told me that the Cardinal was escaped, accompanied only with two others; that he got out of Paris in disguise, and that they were in the greatest consternation at the Palais-royal. I called for my coach at the hearing of this, with a design to go to the Duke's, but they desired me to step with them into my closet, that they might speak to me in private. The secret was this: Chandener, Captain of the guards in waiting, was in the Prince of Guimené's coach, and

and had something to say to me, but would not be seen by any of my servants. I knew the two gentlemen that spoke to me to be none of the wisest, but I thought them now stark mad, when I heard them name Chandénier. I had not seen this gentleman since we were at college, and even from the first years of our being there together, when neither of us was above nine or ten years old. We had never visited one another. He had been very much affected to Cardinal Richlieu, in whose family I was far from entertaining any acquaintance. He was Captain of the guards in waiting, and my business was to serve the Fronde. I see this man at my door the very day that the Fronde forces the King's minister to remove from him; I see him come into my chamber. His first question to me is, whether I am not a friend to the King. I own to you that I had been much frightened if I had not been sure of having a strong body of guards in my court, and many brave and faithful gentlemen in my anti-chamber. Having answered Chandénier, that I was as much for the King as he, he took me round the neck, saying, and I am for the King as much as you are; but I am likewise, as you are, against Mazarin; I mean, added he, as to his cabal, for in the post I am in I would not hurt him otherwise. After this he asked to become my friend, telling me that he was not upon so ill terms with the Queen as was believed, and that in the post he had, it would be easy for him to find some instances wherein he might give the \* Sicilian some good lashes. He came another time to my house with the same gentlemen, between twelve and one at night. He came a third time thither with the Grand Prevost, who, in my opinion, took that step only in concert with the court, though he had for a pretty long while professed a friendship for me. The Queen was informed of all these visits; in what manner, and by whom, I know not; but it is certain that she was told of them, and it is impossible but that she should, the Prince of Guimenè and Bethune being the two gentlemen in France the least capable of keeping a secret. I told Chandénier so before their faces, at his first coming to me. He was commanded to retire to his house in Poitou. This is all the correspondence I had with him; you shall see the sequel of it in its proper time.

As soon as I was rid of Chandénier's first visit, I went to the Duke, whom I found surrounded with many courtiers that applauded his triumph. The Duke not thinking me

enough

\* Cardinal Mazarin.



enough pleased, told me that he would lay a wager that I was afraid of the King's leaving Paris. I owned it to him; and he laughed at me, saying, that if the Cardinal had had any such thought, he had effected it by taking the King away with him. My answer was, that it seemed as if the Cardinal's head had been discomposed for some time, but that at all events it would not be amiss to look to it, some after-blow being always to be feared from such sort of men as the Cardinal. All that I could obtain from the Duke, was, to tell Chamboy, who was my friend, and who commanded Mr. de Longueville's company of gens d'armes, to walk some rounds without noise about the Palais-royal; but to tell him this only from myself. Chamboy had by my direction conveyed into Paris 50 or 60 of his gens d'armes, since my treaty with the Princes. As I was about sending for him, the Duke called me back, and forbid me expressly to have any such rounds made. His insatiation in this point was inconceivable, and it is not in occasion only that I have observed, that *most men are put upon committing great evils, by their scrupling at first to commit small ones.* The Duke feared to the last degree a civil war, which he had been forced to enter into by the King's leaving Paris, and yet the single thought of preventing it appeared a crime to him.

There was much said about the Cardinal's flight, every one ascribing it to a cause suitable to his own thoughts. I am persuaded that the only cause was his fear, which afforded him not time enough to take the King and Queen along with him. You will see by and by that it was not for want of good-will in him that they did not quickly follow him, the design of it having very probably been formed before his going away. I could never comprehend what could oblige him not to execute it, when he might, considering that every instant there was room for him to fear an opposition.

The Parliament assembled on the 17th, and they ordered, the Duke being present, that most humble thanks should be given to the Queen for the removal of the Cardinal, and that she should likewise be desired to order a lettre de cachet to be dispatched for the releasing the Princes, and to send a declaration whereby all strangers should be for ever excluded from the King's councils. The first President went accordingly about four in the afternoon to her Majesty, who told him that she could make no answer till she had conferred with the Duke of Orleans, to whom she sent, for that effect, the Lord-Keeper, the mareschal de Villeroy, and le Tellier. His answer to them was, that he could not go to the Palais-royal  
till

till the Princes were at liberty, and till the Cardinal was removed further from court.

The first President having on the 18th made his report to the Parliament, of the Queen's answer, the Duke gave an account to the company of the reasons of his conduct in relation to the interview that was desired. He made the company observe that the Cardinal was but at St. Germain's, from whence he continued to govern the state; that his nephew and his nieces were still at the Palais-royal; and that it was therefore necessary to desire the Queen, in a most humble manner, to declare whether the Cardinal's removal was for ever, and without any view of his returning to court. It is not to be imagined how far the company carried their passions that day. Some were for declaring that there should be no longer any such thing in France as a favourite. I could not have believed, if I had not heard it, that the extravagance of men could have been carried to such an extreme. The Duke's advice passed at last, which was to get the Queen to explain herself upon the nature of Mazarin's removal, and to be pressing for the *lettre de cachet*, about the liberty of the Princes.

This same day the Queen assembled at the Palais-royal, messieurs de Vendôme, de Nemours, d'Elbeuf, d'Harcourt, de Rioux, de l'Islebonne, d'Epéron, de Candale, d'Etrées, de l'Hopital, de Villeroy, du Plessis Praslin, d'Hocquincourt, and de Grancey. She sent, by the advice of these gentlemen, messieurs de Vendôme, d'Elbeuf, and d'Epéron, to the Duke, to desire him to come and take his seat again at the council board, sending word however, that if he did not think fit to do so, she would send the Lord-Keeper to advise with him what was necessary to be done about the affairs of the Princes. The Duke accepted the last proposal, but declined the first in very respectful terms; but he used Mr. d'Elbeuf very roughly, for pressing him a little too much to go to the Palais-royal. These gentlemen acquainted likewise the Duke, that they had the Queen's command to assure him, that the Cardinal's removal was for ever. You will see presently, that if the Duke had trusted himself that day in the Queen's hands, there is great room to believe that she had left Paris, and had carried him along with her.

The Duke having upon the 19th acquainted the Parliament with the Queen's message to him concerning the Cardinal's being for ever removed, and the King's council having added that the Queen had ordered them to declare in her name the like message to the company; they gave an  
arrest,

arrest, whereby it was ordered, that upon considering of the Queen's declaration, Cardinal Mazarin should depart the kingdom, and all places under his majesty's dominions, within fifteen days, with all his relations and domestick servants that were strangers; in default whereof they should be proceeded against in a criminal manner, with leave to the commons and all others to fall upon them. I had a strong suspicion; at my coming back from the Parliament, of the King's being to be carried away that day. The ground of it was, that the Abbot Charrier, who suffered himself half the time to be amused by the grand Prevost, came to me all in a sweat, to assure me, that Madam de Chevreuse and the Lord-Keeper made a fool of me, and kept secrets hid from me, if they had not discovered to me the trick they had put upon the Cardinal; that he knew from a good hand, and for certain, that it was they that had persuaded Mazarin to leave Paris, upon their assuring him, that they would afterwards help his being restored, and support with the Duke the instances which the Queen would not fail to make about it, it being impossible for his Royal Highness to refuse the Queen to her face. The Abbot Charrier accompanied this advice with all the circumstances which I have since found spread about every where, and which might serve to make people (those at least that believe things to be most true, that appear to them most full of cunning) that Mazarin's flight was a master-stroke in politicks, given by Madam de Chevreuse, and by the Lord-Keeper, in order to make Mazarin the instrument of his own ruin. The sorry news-writers of that time have invented upon this stories more ridiculous than old women's tales. I made a jest of what Charrier said, because I had seen both the Lady and the Lord-Keeper very much embarrassed at their first hearing of Mazarin's being gone, for fear the King should soon follow him. But having taken notice more than once of the court's making use of the Grand Prevost to insinuate certain things to me, I took care to observe nicely all the circumstances, and it appeared to me that many of those which the Abbot Charrier mentioned, and which, as he owned, came from the Grand Prevost, tended to let me see that Mazarin went peaceably out of France, to expect in some safe place the effect of the mighty promises made him by the Lord-Keeper, and by Madam de Chevreuse. The noise which this mighty state-trick made was so universal, that in my opinion it must have been spread about for more than one end, and I am persuaded that they were very glad to make use of it, to remove from me



me the thought that there was any design of leaving Paris, the day that they actually intended to have left it. What increased much my suspicion was, that the Queen, who hitherto had been for delaying the matter, had of a sudden altered her measures, by offering to send the Lord-Keeper to the Duke, in order to finish what related to the Princes. I told the Duke all my conjectures, begging of him to reflect on them; I pressed him, I importuned him. The Lord-Keeper, who came in the evening, to settle with him the necessary orders for setting the Princes free, which, as they promised, were to be sent away the next day, removed all manner of doubts from him. I could gain nothing over him, and I came home fully persuaded that we should quickly see some new scene opened. I was just falling asleep, when a gentleman of the Duke's chamber opened my bed-curtains, saying, that his Royal Highness asked for me. I was curious to know upon what account, but all that I could learn was, that Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was come to awaken the Duke. As I was putting on my cloaths, a page brought me a note from that Lady, containing only these words: 'Make all the haste you can to the Palace of Orleans, and take care of yourself by the way.' At my coming I found Mademoiselle de Chevreuse sitting upon a trunk in the Duke's chamber. She told me that the Dutchess her mother having found herself ill, had sent her to his Royal Highness to acquaint him that the King was upon the point of leaving Paris; that he went to bed that night at his usual time, and that he was got up again, and had already his boots on. It is certain that the advice \* came to her from very good hands. The Marechal d'Aumont, Captain of the guards in waiting, jointly with the Marechal d'Albret, caused it to be given under-hand, with the single view of preventing the kingdom's falling into so dreadful a confusion as that which they foresaw. The Marechal de Villeroy had at the same time sent her the like account by the Lord-Keeper. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse added, that she believed it would prove a hard piece of work to bring the Duke to a good resolution, the first thing he had said after her waking him, being, 'Send for the Coadjutor; however, what can be done in this case?'

We went into the Dutchess's chamber, where the Duke was in bed with her. His first words to me were: 'You have been but too good a prophet; what must we do?'

'There

\* The French says, that it did not come from a good hand, which is plainly a mistake.

'There is but one way,' said I, 'which is to seize upon the city-gates.' 'By what means,' replied he, 'at this time of night?' Men in a state like his speak but by monosyllables. I remember that I made Mademoiselle de Chevreuse observe it. She did wonders, and the Dutchess of Orleans surpassed herself. But it was impossible to get any positive answer from the Duke. All that we could draw from him was, that he would send Destouches, Captain of his Switzers, to the Queen, to beg of her that she would reflect upon the consequences of an act of this nature. 'This will suffice,' said the Duke; 'for when the Queen sees that her design is known, she will take care not to expose herself to the bringing it about.' The Dutchess finding that this expedient, if it was not otherwise supported, might spoil all; but finding withal that the Duke could not resolve upon giving any orders, commanded me to bring her a standish that stood upon the table of her closet, and she writ these words in a large sheet of paper.

The Coadjutor is ordered to cause arms to be taken, and to prevent the creatures of Cardinal Mazarin, who stands condemned by the Parliament, from carrying the King out of Paris.

MARGARET of Lorraine.

The Duke desiring to see this dispatch, snatched it out of the Dutchess's hand; but he could not hinder her from saying to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, 'I beg of you, dear niece, to bid the Coadjutor do all that is necessary, and I will be answerable for the Duke to-morrow, whatever he says to-day.' The Duke cried aloud to me, as I was going away: 'Hearke, Sir, you know the Parliament; I will by no means fall out with that company.' Mademoiselle de Chevreuse cried to him, as she was shutting the door after her, 'I defy you to be so much out with them, as you are with me.'

You will easily judge of the condition I found myself in, but I believe you are not in doubt of the way which I resolved to follow. The event, indeed, was nice and doubtful, but the choice was not difficult to make. I sent a note to the Duke de Beaufort, acquainting him with all that was doing, and desiring him to come in all haste to the Hôtel de Montbazon. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse went to wake the Mareschal de la Mothe, who got immediately on horseback, with all those whom he could assemble, that were attached to the Princes, and among others I know that Langues and Coligni were

were with him. Mr. de Montmorenci carried orders from me to L'Epinay, to cause the company, of which he was Lieutenant, to take up arms, which was done. He seized upon the gate of Richlieu. Martineau happening not to be at home, his wife, who was sister to Madam de Pomereux, went into the street with a single petticoat on, caused the drums of her husband's company to beat, and that company was posted in the street called St. Honoré.

In the mean time Destouches executed the Duke's commands. He found the King got to bed again, and the Queen in tears. She charged him to tell the Duke, that it never came into her thoughts to carry the King away, and that it was an invention of mine. The rest of the night was spent in settling the posts that were to be guarded. Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe took upon them to have the horse make their rounds. In short, nothing was omitted that was necessary on this occasion.

I went back to the Duke to give him an account of what had been done; of which he was glad in his heart, though he durst not own it before he had learnt the sentiments of the Parliament. The manner in which he expressed himself made it plain to me that I was like to be disowned, if the Parliament disapproved of what was done; and you must observe, that there was hardly any thing more likely to be disapproved by that company, because there is nothing more against their forms, than the investing the Palais-royal. I was fully persuaded, as I still am, that that action was much rectified, nay, was even sanctified by the circumstances, because it is certain that the King's leaving Paris might have been attended with the ruin of the kingdom. But I knew the parliament, and was conscious to myself, that an action, let it be never so good, if it is against their forms, will always be found criminal in private persons. I must own to you, that I never found myself more embarrassed in my life than in this juncture. I could not doubt but that the King's council would mention this with horror the next day to the Parliament; neither could I doubt of the first President's thundering on this subject. I might likewise expect as a thing certain, that Longueil (who since his brother's being made superintendant of the finances, had quite forsaken the Fronde) would be far from sparing me, by his sly underhand way, which I knew to be more dangerous than the declamations of others.

My first thought was to go to the Duke about seven in the morning, to press him to rise (which was no easy matter)

and



and to come to the parliament (which was still more difficult.) Caumartin disapproved of it, saying, that the matter in question was not of the nature of those wherein it suffices to be owned. I understood his meaning immediately, and agreed with him in it. I conceived that there would be too many inconveniencies in giving even any room to suspect that what had passed had not been done by the Duke's positive orders, and that the least resistance of the Duke's to go to the parliament would naturally produce that effect. I resolved therefore against proposing to the Duke to come, but however to behave myself in a manner that might oblige him to it. The means of which I made use to that effect, were, to go thither myself in company with the Duke de Beaufort, and the Marechal de la Mothe, all of us with a very great retinue; that we should cause the people to give us loud acclamations; that the officers, whose Colonels were in our dependance, should divide, part of them coming with us to the parliament, to make the appearance greater, and the rest going to the Duke, as with an intent to offer him their services, in a juncture so full of danger for the city, as the King's going out of it would have proved; and that the Duke de Nemours should meet these last at the Duke's, with messieurs de Coligni, de Langues, de Tavannes, and the rest of the party of the Princes, where he should tell the Duke, that now indeed the Princes his cousins owed him their liberty, but that they begged of him to come to the parliament to compleat it there. It was eight o'clock before Mr. de Nemours could make that compliment to the Duke, because he had ordered not to be waked sooner, with an intent, no doubt, to know what the morning would produce. We were in the mean while at the parliament, where we came by seven, and where we observed that the first President did much the same as the Duke, his not assembling the chambers being in all likelihood to see what steps the Duke would take. He sat at his place in the grand-chamber, to judge of common affairs, but his countenance and his actions shewed that he had greater things in his thoughts. One might see sorrow in his eyes, but that sort of sorrow, which only touches and moves, and has nothing of dejectedness. The Duke came at last, but very late, and after the clock had struck nine, the Duke de Nemours being hardly able to move him to come. He told the company at his first coming, that he had had a conference the day before with the Lord-Keeper, and that the lettres de cachet, for the liberty of the Princes, would be ready in two hours time, and would immediately be sent. At which the first

first President spoke, and said, with a profound sigh; 'The Princes are at liberty, and the King, the King our master is a prisoner.' The Duke, whose fears were vanished, because he had received more acclamations in the streets, and in the great hall, than he had ever done before, and to whom Coulon had whispered, that the discharge from the inquests would not be less loud, replied to the first President: 'The King was a prisoner in Mazarin's hands, but God be thanked he is no longer so.' The inquests, like a loud echo, repeated: 'He is no longer so, he is no longer so.' The Duke, who always spoke well in publick, gave a short account of all that had passed in the night, and did it very artificially, but fully enough to authorize what had been done. The first President's answer consisted only in pretty sharp invectives against those that could suppose the Queen's intention to have been as bad as they pretended; that nothing was falser; and in that manner he went on. I answered only with a smile. You may be sure that the Duke named nobody, but gave only the first President to understand, that he was better informed than he.

The queen sent that very afternoon for the King's council, and those of the town house, to assure them, that she never entertained that thought, and even to command them to set a guard at the city-gates, in order to remove from people's minds the fear they might have of it; in which she was faithfully obeyed. This happened on the 10th of February.

Upon the 11th, Mr. de la Vrilliere, Secretary of state, was sent with all necessary orders to set the prisoners free.

Upon the 13th, the Cardinal, who had removed himself from the neighbourhood of Paris, only since his being informed that they had taken up arms there, went to Havre-de-Grace, where he humbled himself to the Prince of Condé in the most abject manner. The Prince treated him very haughtily, and did not thank him in the least for his liberty, which he granted after having dined with him. I never could comprehend this step of the Cardinal's, which has appeared to me in every circumstance one of the most ridiculous things that has happened in this age.

Upon the 15th the news came to Paris of the Princes being set at liberty. The Duke of Orleans went to see the Queen; they entered into no particulars, and the visit was but short.

Upon the 16th the Princes arrived, the Duke having met them half way between Paris and St. Denis. He took them into his coach, where the Duke de Beaufort and I were like-

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wife. They alighted out of it at the Palais-royal, where the conference was neither warmer nor longer than that which the Duke had had there the day before. The Duke de Beaufort staid all the time they were at the Queen's, near the gate of St. Honoré, whilst I went to hear evening-prayers at the fathers of the oratory, and whilst the Marechal de la Mothe stood upon the watch behind the Palais-royal. The Duke, with the Princes, took us up again at the Croix du Tiroir, from whence we went to the Duke's, where we supped, and where the King's health was drank, with the burden of, 'No Mazarin.' The poor Marechal de Grammont, and Mr. d'Amville, were forced to do like the rest.

Upon the 17th the Duke carried the princes to the parliament, and what is remarkable is, that the same people, who had thirteen months before made bonfires for their imprisonment, did the like for several days together, upon account of their liberty.

Upon the 20th the King's declaration against Cardinal Mazarin, which had been demanded by the parliament, was brought thither to be registered, and was sent back in a rage, because the reasons for removing him were covered over and embellished with so many commendations, that the whole was rather a panegyrick than any thing else. Mention being made in that declaration, that all strangers should be excluded from the King's councils, old Broussel, who always went further than others, added in his advice, 'And all Cardinals, because they take an oath to the Pope.' The first President fancying that it would much vex me, admired the solid sense of Broussel, and approved what he had proposed. It was very late, and every body wanted their dinner, so that the greatest part made no reflection upon Broussel's addition; and whatever was said or done at that time against Mazarin, either directly or indirectly, appearing so natural, that it had not been judicious to imagine any mystery in it. I believe that I had not taken any more notice of it than the rest, if the Bishop of Chalons, who had that day taken his seat at the parliament, had not told me, that after Broussel had proposed the exclusion of all French Cardinals, and that the parliament had seemed to approve of it by a confused humming; the Prince of Condé had expressed a mighty joy, and had cried out; 'Oh, the fine echo!' I am obliged to speak here in my own commendation, I might have been a little piqued at the Prince of Condé, that the very next day after his signing a treaty, wherein the Duke of Orleans declared his thoughts of making me a Cardinal, he should  
cry



ory up a proposal which tended directly to the lessening of that dignity. It is true, that the Prince was no way concerned in this; that the thing came on very naturally, and was supported, only because any thing that was proposed against Mazarin could not be disapproved of. But I had some ground to believe at that time that the thing had been concerted; that Longueuil had caused old Broussel to fall into the trap laid for him; and that all those that were known to be partisans to the Princes, had been very warm for the proposal. I had indeed no less ground to hope that I might destroy this in an instant, because the Frondeurs, who had perceived that the first President designed to turn against me the heat that the company expressed against Mazarin, offered to stop short till the arrest had been explained, and to declare themselves in a manner that had certainly obliged the Prince to make all those of his party speak in another tone. I had at that time another opportunity offered me, which, if I had pleased, had afforded me much surer and more powerful means to imbroil matters, and to put the stage into a confusion that had not given the first president leave to divert himself at my cost. I have already mentioned to you the assembly of the nobility. The court, who was always disposed to think the worst of me, was persuaded, though falsely, as you have seen, that that assembly was a project of mine, and that I depended much upon it. For that reason they believed there, that it would be giving me a mighty blow to dissipate it, and upon that notion, which was false, they were like to have fallen into two inconveniences, the most real and substantial that their worst enemies could have procured them. The one was, that in order to induce the parliament (who naturally dread the general assembly of the states of the kingdom) to put out arrests against this assembly of the nobility, they sent the Marechal de l'Hopital to the gentlemen that composed it, to tell them that they might separate, because the King engaged his word and honour, to cause the states of the kingdom to meet upon the first of October. I know that the court did not design to do it; but I am conscious, that if the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé had joined together to bring it to pass, as it was in the main their interest so to do, the event must have convinced the ministers that they had drawn upon themselves, without any necessity, and for a trifle, the thing which they have always the most dreaded. The other inconveniency, which they ventured falling into, by the way they took, was the Duke's being extremely near declaring himself (against my advice) the protector of that assembly; which if he had done from the beginning, as I saw him just upon

upon the point of doing, the Queen, contrary to her interest, and her intention, which agreed in dividing the Duke and the Prince, had united them more strongly by that open step of the Duke's, which being entered into so near after the Prince's liberty, must of necessity have brought him that was the person delivered into the party of the Duke, who was the deliverer. Time furnishes men with pretences; it even sometimes furnishes them with reasons to excuse their not acknowledging favours; but when those favours have been newly conferred, it is unwise to press those on whom they have been bestowed to be ungrateful.

La Vieuville, \* and de Sourdis, † seconded by Montmor, who since la Riviere's disgrace had regained a pretty good credit with the Duke; touched his Royal Highness so much to the quick, by representing the parliament's ingratitude to him, in shewing themselves so obstinately bent upon dissipating an assembly, formed with his Royal Highness's leave; that he promised them that if that company went on in the same steps the next day, he would declare to them his resolution of going to the Cordeliers, where the assembly was kept, and of putting himself at their head, in order to receive there the parliament's officers, that would dare to bring and to notify the parliament's arrest to dissipate them. You are to observe, that from the day that the Palais-royal was invested, the Duke was so fully persuaded of his power with the people, that he stood now in no manner of fear of the parliament. Mr. de Beaufort, who came in to him at the time that he was in conversation with the gentlemen whom I have named, helped to incense him, which he did to that degree, that it put him upon complaining of me even with sharpness, and upon reproaching me with contributing by my silence to what had been insisted upon in the declaration against the French Cardinals. He added, that he indeed knew how little I was concerned at it, because it would prove not only insignificant, but even very ridiculous and impertinent, whenever the court pleased; but that I ought to be careful of his reputation, which obliged him to be so much concerned, not to suffer the Mazarinians, that is, those that had done their utmost efforts to screen Mazarin in the parliament, to revenge themselves upon those that had joined with him against that ministry, which appeared to be the design of Mazarin's partisans, when instead of attacking his person, they attacked only the dignity of Cardinals,

\* Charles, Duke de la Vieuville, Lord Lieutenant of Poitou, &c.

† Charles d'Escoubleau, Marquis de Sourdis.

Cardinals, intending that stroke against a man, whom he (the Duke) proposed to raise to that rank. Mr. de Beaufort, who was greatly provoked at what the President Perrault, the Prince of Condé's steward, had said the day before, in the Buvette of the chamber of accounts, which was, that he would oppose in his master's name the registering the grant he had of the admiralty; Mr. de Beaufort, I say, omitted nothing to inflame the Duke, and to persuade him that he ought not to let these two steps pass, without trying what was to be expected from the Prince, whose whole number of partisans appeared on both these occasions to unite very much with the court party.

You see that I had a fair opportunity offered me, which I was the more like to have taken hold of, because I could hardly be of another opinion without falling out in some measure with all the friends I had among the noblemen, that composed the assembly. And yet I resolved against it without any hesitation, being determined to do my duty whatever happened to me, and being unwilling to corrupt the inward pleasure which I felt for having contributed as much as I had done to the removing of the Cardinal, and to the setting the Princes free, two things which I knew to be extremely agreeable to the publick. I thought it best therefore not to enter into new intrigues, which by a subdivision of the party would have kept me further off from the body of it, and which besides would have passed in the world for an effect of the anger which I might have conceived against the parliament: I say which I might have conceived, for the truth is, that I was not angry at them; both because the greatest part of that body continued to be very well disposed towards me, and was much more intent on attacking Mazarin than on hurting me; and because I never could comprehend how one can be angry at what a collective body does. But if there was no merit in not being moved on this occasion, I cannot but think that there must have been a little in having stood unmoved, when I saw those that did not love me, taking advantage of this cool temper. Their boastings tempted me, but did not overcome my resolution; I continued firm in telling the Duke that he ought to break the assembly of the nobles; that he ought not to oppose the declaration for excluding the French Cardinals from the King's councils; and that he ought for the future to have no other view but the suppressing all manner of

\* He was president in the chamber of accounts, and steward of the Prince of Condé's household.



of partialities. I never did any thing that gave me so much inward satisfaction as the acting in this manner. The manner in which I had acted at the peace of Paris, was mixt with the interest I had, not to become a dependant on Fuensaldagne; but I was led to this action purely by a principle of duty, to which I was resolved to devote myself, and to nothing else. I was pleased with my own work, and if it had likewise pleased the court and the Prince of Condé to give some belief to what I told them, I would have returned with all the sincerity possible to the pure and sole exercises of my profession. I had the credit with the publick of having expelled Mazarin, whom they abhorred, and of having delivered the Princes, who were become their darlings. This was a mighty satisfaction to me, and I had such a feeling of it, that I was grieved at heart to have been engaged to declare my pretensions to the rank of Cardinal. I was therefore willing to shew how little I cared for it, by the indifference I shewed about the exclusion which I have mentioned. I opposed the Duke's resolution of declaring himself openly against it in the parliament. I obtained of him that he would content himself to tell the company that they went too far, and that the first thing that the King would do at his majority, would be (as indeed it was) to revoke that declaration. I had no manner of share in the opposition which the clergy of France made to it by the mouth of the Archbishop \* of Ambrun, and I did not only refuse to vote like them upon that subject in the parliament, but I even engaged all my friends to vote like me. The President de Bellievre was indeed very eager to attack the first President vigorously and sharply for his partiality in this case; and the truth is, that he might very easily have turned into ridicule a man who had used his utmost efforts for upholding the dignity of Cardinal in the person of Mazarin. However upon his reproaching me, before the face of the grand-chamber, that I was wanting to the interest of the church by the steps I took; I answered him aloud: 'The church receives by this but an imaginary hurt, and I should do real hurt to the state by not endeavouring, as much as in me lies, to suppress its divisions.' This saying was approved by a great many.

My acting with no more vigour at that juncture of time in relation to the assembling the three estates of the kingdom, received not the like approbation. People were pleased to

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\* George d'Aubusson, de la Furillasse.

fancy that this assembly would restore the state, which was not my opinion. I knew that the court had proposed it with a view only of setting the parliament (which always dreads it) at variance with the nobility. The Prince of Condé had told me twenty times before his imprisonment, that no King, nor Prince of the blood ought ever to suffer such an assembly. I knew the Duke's weakness, and his incapacity of governing a machine of that vast extent. These were my reasons for not acting on that occasion, with so much warmth as many gentlemen could have wished of me. I am still of opinion that I acted right. All these considerations were the cause that instead of growing warmer about a general assembly of the states, about the assembly of the nobility, and about the exclusion of all Cardinals from the King's councils, I was confirmed in my resolution of resting myself, if I may use that expression, on my late actions, and I even sought for means to do it honourably. What the Bishop of Châlons had told me of the Prince of Condé, added to the steps which I perceived that many of his party took, begun to fill me with suspicion, at which I was very much grieved, because I foresaw that a division between the Fronde and that Prince would throw us again into strange disorders. I resolved therefore to prevent as much as I could all that might give occasion to it. I went to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, to whom I discovered my fears; and after I had assured her that I would do in relation to her interest whatever she pleased, without exception, I desired leave to represent to her that she ought always to speak of her marriage with the Prince of Conti, as of an honour which she would accept, but as of an honour to which however she might pretend, for which reason she was not to run after it, but to sit still in expectation of it; that hitherto all manner of decorum had been preserved, because she had been courted and sued for with earnest instances; that the like decorum was still to be carefully preserved; that I did not believe that there was any intent of falling off from the engagement, not only entered into during the imprisonment, but made stronger since by the most solemn promises (you must take notice that the Prince of Conti supped almost every night at the Hôtel de Chevreuse); but that seeing however some small appearances in the Prince of Condé of his not being so favourably inclined to the Fronde as we had reason to have expected, I was persuaded that it would be an act of prudence in her not to expose herself to so vexatious an accident as a refusal must be to a lady of her quality; that I had thought of an expedient which appeared to me great, and worthy her birth,

to be made sure of the Prince of Condé's intentions, and that would hasten the effect of them if they were good, or serve to prevent the ill consequences, if they were not; that that expedient was, that I should assure the Prince of Condé both in her own and in the Dutchess her mother's name, that they did not intend in any wise to make use of the engagements, into which he was entered by his treaties; that they had consented to those engagements with a view only of giving themselves the pleasure to release him from his work; and that I begged of him in their names, to believe, that if he was in the least troubled about it, or if it prejudiced in the least the measures which he might intend to enter into with the court, they would with all their hearts desist from those engagements, without being hindered by it from continuing, both they and their friends, firmly attached to his service.

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse approved of what I proposed, because she ever agreed in opinion with the man she loved. The Dutchess her mother approved of it likewise, because her natural good sense made her always embrace eagerly whatever was right. Laigues opposed it for want of penetration, it being very difficult for persons of his character to comprehend any thing that has two faces. Bellievre, Caumartin and Montresor brought him at last to understand these two faces, and to comprehend that if the Prince of Condé's intentions were good, this way of proceeding would oblige him; and if they were otherwise, it would at least serve to contain him and to prevent his crushing us, at a time that we acted with him with so much civility, candour and respect. That instant of time was the only one that we had reason to be afraid of, because the constitution of things was more than sufficient to convince us that if we escaped for the present, it would not be long before we should meet with more favourable moments. I desire that you would consider how nice the present conjuncture was, that might unite against us the Royal authority purged of Mazarinianism, and the Prince of Condé's party purged of faction. Upon the whole, what reliance could we have in the Duke of Orleans? You will judge, I am sure, that I was in the right to think of preventing the storm, and of turning to our advantage what might draw it upon us. I made my embassy to the Prince; I put into his hands my pretension to the Cardinalship; I left him master of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's marriage. He fell in a passion at me, he swore; he asked me who I took him for. I left him, being persuaded, as I am still, that he fully intended to execute what he had promised.



All that I have been relating of the assembly of the nobility, of that of the estates, and of the declaration against Cardinals, as well French as foreigners, was what filled up the scene from the 17th of February 1651, to the 3d of April following. I have not set down the days, because it had been tiresome to you, these matters having been debated without any interruption during that whole time. The court according to their usual custom cavilled at every thing, and yielded up every thing according to the same custom. All that they got by their doings was, that the Parliament of Paris wrote to all the other Parliaments of the kingdom, inciting them to put out arrests against Cardinal Mazarin, which they did; and that they obliged the court to give a declaration of innocence to the Princes, which was a panegyrick; and another declaration for the excluding all Cardinals from the King's councils. In short, they were not at rest in the Parliament till the Cardinal had quitted Sedan, and was retired to Breul, a house of the elector of Cologne. All these steps, which that company took, appeared to them to be altogether natural; but the springs that put them into motion were hidden underneath the stage, as you shall now see.

The Prince of Condé, who was at every instant solicited by the court to come to an accommodation, quickened the Parliament every day, to make himself the more necessary to the Queen and to the Duke of Orleans; and it being my interest to keep the old Fronde in breath, and to maintain its reputation, I stood not idle on my side. The Queen, whose animosity was the freshest against the Prince of Condé, sent me some agents, at the same time that she was doing her best to oblige him to enter into a negotiation. The Viscount d'Autel, Captain of the Duke of Orleans's guards, and my particular friend, was brother to the Marechal du Pleffis Praslin, with whom he pressed me for seven or eight days together to have a secret conference about an affair, as he pretended, wherein my life and honour were concerned. I was very loath to do it, because I knew that the Marechal du Pleffis was a great Mazarinian, and that I took the Viscount d'Autel for an honest man, but very capable of being made a tool of. The Duke, to whom I gave an account of the instances made to me, commanded me to hear the Marechal, but to take at the same time all the precaution possible. What obliged the Duke to give me that order was the Marechal's sending him word by his brother, that he submitted himself to whatever his Royal Highness pleased, if what he had to say to me was not of the greatest importance to his Royal Highness.

Highness. I saw him in the night at the Viscount d'Autell's, who had an apartment in the Duke's palace, but who had likewise lodgings in the Rue d'Enfer. He told me frankly that he was sent by the Queen, who had always preserved some kindness for me; that she would not contribute to my undoing, for a proof of which she sent me notice that I was upon the brink of a precipice; that the Prince of Condé was treating with her; that she could not discover herself any more, not being sure of me; but that if I would engage to serve her, she would fully convince me of every particular. This was, as you see, a little too general. My answer was, that as to myself I should never question any thing that came from her Majesty. But that she might well judge that the Duke of Orleans, being so far engaged as he was with the Prince of Condé, would not come to a rupture with him, except he had not only sufficient causes shewn him, but except he might impart those causes to the publick. This answer, though very reasonable, made the Queen extremely angry at me. She said to the Mareschal, as I had it from himself above ten years after: 'He is willing to perish, and so let him.' I will explain her meaning.

Servien and Lionne were treating with the Prince of Condé, to whom they promised the government of Guienne for himself, that of Provence for his brother, and the Lieutenantship of Guienne with the government of Blaye for la Rochefoucault, who was in the secret, and even present at the negotiation. The Prince of Condé was by this treaty to have his troops maintained and paid in these provinces, except those that were in garrison in the places which he already had in his possession. He had put Meillant, in Clermont; Marfin, in Stenai; Bouteville, in Bellegarde; Arnauld, in the castle of Dijon; Persan, in Mouron: Judge you of these settlements! Lionne has assured me several times since, that both Servien and himself had acted very sincerely with the Prince in their proposals concerning Guienne and Provence, because they were persuaded that there was nothing which the court ought not to do to gain him. Those that will believe that there is a mystery in every thing, have said that these two ministers had no other view but to amuse the Prince. What has given some colour to this opinion, is, that the thing succeeded exactly as if they had had such a design. The Prince of Condé was persuaded that two men so much depending on the Cardinal, durst never without his orders have made proposals of that importance to him. Besides, he found at first all the facility possible for the government of Guienne, of which he was actually put in possession, after his quitting that

that of Burgundy to the Duke of Epernon. This was a reason for him not to be in fear of the Cardinal's consent for the government of Provence; so that before it was put into his hands for his brother, he either consented, or gave to understand that he would consent (they talk variously of it) to the alteration made in the council upon the 3d of April, of which I shall give you an account, after I have desired you to observe, that this error of the Prince is, in my opinion, the greatest which ever he committed against politicks.

Upon the 3d of April, the Duke and the Prince being at the Palais-royal, the Duke was told there that Chavigny, an intimate friend of the Prince's, had been sent for by the Queen from Touraine where he then was. The Duke, who hated him mortally, complained to the Queen that she had sent for him without his knowledge, of which he had the greater reason to complain, because, as the common report was, he was to take place in the council as a minister. The Queen answered the Duke in a haughty tone, that he ought not to wonder at it, having himself done many things without her knowledge; upon which the Duke left the Palais-royal, and was followed by the Prince. The Queen, after the council was over, sent Mr. de la Vrilliere to demand the seals of Mr. de Chateauneuf, which her Majesty delivered about ten at night to the first President, sending the Duke de Sully\* to fetch his father-in-law, and to bring him to the council-board, to sit there as Lord-Chancellor. La Tivoliere, Lieutenant of her guards, came betwixt ten and eleven to bring the Duke an account of this change. The Dutchess of Orleans and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse did their best to shew the Duke the ill consequence of this, which was no difficult thing to prove to a Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, so sensibly and so highly offended as the Duke was. You will easily believe that I did not preserve, on this occasion, the temper, for which I was just now commending myself. The Duke appeared extremely angry; he assembled us all, that is, the Princes of Condè and of Conti, messieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Brissac, de la Rochefoucaut, de Chaulnes (elder brother to him whom you know) de Vitri, de la Mothe, d'Estampes, de Fiesque, and de Montresor. He explained the fact, and asked for our advices. Montresor spoke the first, and was for sending to the first President to demand of him the seals in his Royal Highness's name. Messieurs de Chaulnes, de Brissac, de Vitri, and de Fiesques, were of the

\* The Duke de Sully had married a daughter of the Chancellor Seguier.



the same opinion, \* *Mr. de Chaulnes adding, that he ought to make use of the people on this occasion.* When it came to me, I said, that what had been proposed was just, and grounded upon the Duke's lawful power; that that advice was even necessary; but that the Duke's prudence requiring that he should prevent such violent accidents as might happen in an act of this nature, I thought that it was not fit to make use of the people, as Mr. de Chaulnes had proposed, but that it would be better in my opinion that his Royal Highness should cause the thing to be done by the Captain of his Guards; that Mr. de Beaufort and I might keep ourselves upon the keys that are on both sides the parliament house, to restrain the people, who wanted only a curb upon an occasion wherein the name of the Duke of Orleans was mentioned. Mr. de Beaufort interrupted me upon this, and said: 'Sir, \* I shall speak for myself when I give my opinion; what need you have mentioned me?' I was never more surprized in my life than I was at this. There had not been between Mr. de Beaufort and me the least shadow, I will not say of division, but of discontent. That gentleman went on, saying, that besides he would not be answerable for our being able to contain the people, and for our preventing their falling perhaps upon the first President, and their throwing of him into the river. One of the Prince's party (I do not well remember whether it was Mr. de Nemours or Mr. de la Rochefoucault) took up this last part of Mr. de Beaufort's speech, adorning it and turning it in a manner that might give mine all the appearances of an exhortation to a massacre. The Prince of Condé added to this, that for his part he understood nothing in a war managed with chamber-pots; that he even felt himself to want courage in all occasions caused by popular tumults and seditions; but that if the Duke thought himself enough wronged to begin a civil war, he was ready to get on horseback, to retire into Burgundy, and to levy men for his service. Mr. de Beaufort began again to speak as he had already done, and that was the thing that struck the Duke of Orleans down, because finding Mr. de Beaufort to side with the Prince of Condé, he concluded that the people would divide between him and me.

You are curious, I dare say, to know what it was that obliged the Duke of Beaufort to take these steps, and the knowing of it, will I dare say surprize you, *Gonzville, Lieutenant*

\* *What is here in Italick, is not in the French, but the sequel shows that this addition is necessary.*

Lieutenant of his guards, has since told me, that Madam de Nemours his sister, whom he dearly loved, had in a conversation which she had with him that afternoon, obliged him, rather by her tears than by her reasons, to stick close to Mr. de Nemours, who was altogether of the Prince of Condé's side, and that her efforts with him were made in concert with Madam de Montbazon, whom Gönzeville pretended to have been gained, by Vigneuil, on one side, and on the other by the Marechal d'Albret, who both agreed at that time to take Mr. de Beaufort off from the party of the Fronde. Madam de Montbazon has always affirmed to the President de Bellievre, that she never was in that plot, and that she was more surprized than any body when Mr. de Beaufort told her the next morning what had passed. The President de Bellievre did not at all rely on what she said, chiefly in what related to Mr. de Beaufort, who took his measures so very ill, that of a sudden he fell to nothing. This is what the sequel will convince you of, and consequently that Madam de Montbazon was in the right not to take his conduct upon herself. Gönzeville has often told me since, that the next morning he was extremely vexed at what he had done. I know that Brillet, who was his gentleman of the horse, has said the contrary. All this is uncertain; but what has appeared to me to be most certain is, that he looked upon me as on an undone man, when he saw the court and the Prince of Condé reconciled, not thinking that the Duke of Orleans could have the courage to oppose them both. He was mistaken in that, for I am persuaded, that if he had not gone off from us, the Duke had done whatever we had desired, and that he had done it without any risk. I did my best to convince his Royal Highness that he might even do it, as it was true, without Mr. de Beaufort. For after the conference which I have mentioned, going along with him into the Dutchess's chamber, who had with her the Dutchess of Chevreuse and her daughter, that were staying for the Duke, I proposed to him in their presence to amuse the Princes, under pretence of consulting further on the same subject, and that I wanted but two hours to cause the city to take up arms, which would convince the Princes that his Royal Highness was entirely master of the people. The Dutchess of Orleans, who cried for anger, and who was by all means for my proposal, moved the Duke, who said: 'But if we take that resolution, we must immediately arrest the Princes, and with them my nephew of Beaufort.' 'They are gone, replied Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, into the library, expecting there your

your Royal Highness. It is but giving the key a turn to shut them up there. I won't suffer the Viscount d'Autel to have that honour. What glory will it be for a maid to arrest a winner of battles! She jumped at this, and was going to perform it; but the Duke was struck with the greatness of the thing, which was the reason (knowing his temper so well as I did) that prevented my mentioning it to him, and that made me speak only of amusing them. The Duke's good sense made him judge of the necessity of arresting the Princes, if we caused any stirring in the city, and the quickness of his fancy drew from him the words he spoke. Had Mademoiselle de Chevreuse kept silent, I had taken no notice of it, and the Duke might perhaps have suffered me to do what I proposed, which had brought him to the necessity of executing what he himself had imagined. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's impetuosity brought the whole action at once to his mind, which is the thing the most capable of frightening weak souls. He began to whistle, which was never a good sign, though a pretty frequent one. He went towards the window, where he stood some time musing, and then put us off to the next day. Afterwards he rejoined the company, which he dismissed; and the Princes, as they were going down stairs, made a publick jest of the war that was to have chamber-pots for its weapons.

As I was the next morning in Madam de Chevreuse's chamber, the President Viole came in, appearing to us very much embarrassed. He spoke of the message with which he was charged, as being extremely ashamed of it. He clipped half of what he had to say, and we found out by the other half that he came to declare the rupture of the marriage. Madam de Chevreuse gave him a very genteel answer; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who was dressing herself by the fire, made a jest of it. You will easily judge that we were not surprized at the thing, though I must own that I am still surprized at the manner, for which I could never find out any ground, neither could I ever obtain to have it explained to me. I have mentioned it a thousand times to the Prince of Condé; I have done the like to Madam de Longueville, and to Mr. de la Rochefoucault; but none of them could ever give me any reason for justifying a proceeding of that kind, on an occasion where a refusal is always accompanied with some colouring or other. It was said afterwards that the Queen had forbid that alliance, of which I make no manner of doubt. But what I know is, that Viole spoke not a word of it in his compliment. What is still more surprising is,



that Madam de Longueville has told me twenty times, since her giving up herself to devotion, that she had had no hand in the breaking that marriage, which has been confirmed to me by Mr. de la Rochefoucault; and that the Prince of Condé, who is the man in the world that scorns most to tell a lie, has on the other hand swore to me, that he had not contributed to it, either directly or indirectly. As I was expressing one day to Guitaut my surprize about it, he replied that he wondered not at it, having observed upon several articles, that both the Prince and the Dutchess his sister had forgot most of the circumstances of what had passed in those days. I desire that you would observe on this occasion, the unprofitableness of the inquiries which the learned spend their time upon in relation to more remote ages.

As soon as Viole had left the Hôtel de Chevreuse, I received a billet from Jouï, who belonged to the Duke. He gave me notice in it, that his Royal Highness had been up very early; that he appeared to be in a consternation; that the Marechal de Grammont had had a long conference with him; and that Goulas had been with him in private; that the Marechal de la Ferté-Imbaut, \* who was a kind of a weather-cock, began to avoid those that were known in the family to be my friends. The Marquis de Sablonniere, who commanded the regiment of Vallois, and who was my friend, came to the Hôtel de Chevreuse a moment after, to tell me that Goulas was gone to Chavigny's after his conference with the Duke, appearing to be very gay. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse received at the same time a billet from the Dutchess of Orleans, who charged her to tell me that I should keep upon my guard, and that she was extremely afraid that the threats used against the Duke would force him to abandon me. These advices induced me to make the reason which I had to be afraid of the Duke's weakness, and the steps which I thought necessary for me to take for my safety, meritorious to me with his Royal Highness. I declared my thoughts at the Hôtel de Chevreuse in the presence of those that were the most trusty of our party. They approved of them, and I executed my design. It was this. I went to the Duke's, and I told him that having had the honour and the satisfaction of serving him in the two things which he had had most at heart, which were the removal of Mazarin, and the liberty of the Princes his cousins, I should have thought myself obliged to return  
purely

\* *James d'Estampes, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbaut, Marechal of France.*

purely to the exercise of my profession, though I had had no other reason than the taking hold of so fit a time for it as this was; but that I should be the most imprudent of all men if I missed the opportunity offered me, when my service was become not only useless to him, but when my presence would even be a trouble; that I was not ignorant of the many instances and importunities with which he was loaded upon my account, and that I conjured therefore his Royal Highness to put an end to them in giving me leave to retire into my cloyster.

It would be needless to give you a further detail of what I said to the Duke; you will easily make out the rest. I cannot express the transport of joy that appeared in his eyes, and in all his countenance, though he is the man in the world that can dissemble the best, and tho' his words expressed the greatest desire to keep me in his service. He promised never to abandon me, owning that the Queen pressed him to it; and he assured me, that though the reconciliation between the Queen and the Princes obliged him to appear pleased, he should never forget the cruel affront which he had received; that he would have done wonders, if Mr. de Beaufort had not failed him; that his desertion was the cause of his giving way, because he believed that Mr. de Beaufort might draw half the people after him; that he advised me to be patient for a while, and that I should see how well he would take his opportunity for bringing persons back to their duty. I persisted in my resolution, and he consented to it at last, but with mighty promises to hold me for ever dear in his heart, and to preserve a secret correspondence with me by means of Joui. He would have my opinion upon the way in which he was to behave himself; he carried me to the Dutchess of Orleans, who was in bed, that I might speak before her. I advised him to come to an agreement with the court, and to ask for no other condition than the taking the seals away from the first President; in giving which advice I was moved with no manner of animosity against the first President's person, for though that gentleman and I always happened to be of a contrary party, yet it is certain that I was naturally inclined to love him. But I acted in this manner, because I thought that I should have betrayed the Duke if I had not represented to him how shameful it would be for him to suffer the seals to remain in the hands of a man who had had them without the participation of his Royal Highness, who was Lieutenant-General of the state. The Dutchess with some impatience said to me: 'And Chavigny, you take no notice of him?' 'No Madam,' replied I, 'because it is best that he should stay.'

stay. The Queen hates him mortally; he hates Mazarin mortally, and he has been called again to the council-board, only because it was the Prince of Condé's pleasure. These two or three ingredients are sufficient to spoil the best composition in the world. Leave him there, Madam, where he will prove so useful to his Royal Highness; whose interest is not that a confederacy which he enters into only by constraint should last long. You must observe that this Chavigny was once the favourite, and even the reputed son of Richlieu; that that Cardinal had made him Chancellor to his Royal Highness; and that this Chancellor used the Duke his master so familiarly, that one day he pulled one of his buttons off his waistcoat, saying to him: 'I will have you to know that the Cardinal will take you off when he pleases, as easily as I take off this button. I have this from the Duke's own mouth, which will serve to shew you that the Dutchess was not much in the wrong to remember Chavigny.' It was with some difficulty that the Duke could resolve to suffer him to stay in the ministry, but however he yielded to my reasons. As for the first President, he stood firm in having the seals taken from him, which was done. They thought at court that they came off very cheap, in which they were in the right.

Having left the Duke, I went to take my leave of the Princes. They were at the Hotel de Condé, and had with them Madam de Longueville, and the Princess Palatine. The Prince of Conti laughed when he heard my compliment, calling me good father hermit. Madam de Longueville seemed to me not to reflect much about it. But the Prince of Condé saw the consequence of it, and I perceived plainly that this step which I took had surprized him. The Princess Palatine took the greatest notice of it, as you will see by and by. I retired into my cloyster of Notre Dame, where I did not abandon myself so entirely to the care of Providence as to neglect all human means of preserving myself from the insults of my enemies.

Annery, with all the gentlemen of the county of Vexin, rejoined me. Chateau-Briant, Chateau-Benart, the Viscount of Lamet, Argenteuil, and the Chevalier d'Humieres, lodged in the cloyster with me. Balantin, and the Earl of Crawford, with fifty Scotch officers that had belonged to Montross's troops, were distributed in the houses of the Rue-neuve that were the most affectionate to me. The Colonels and Captains of our ward that were in my interest, had each of them their signal and their word for assembling. In short, I staid in expectation of what the chapter of accidents might produce, discharging



discharging exactly in the mean time all the functions of my office, and forbearing all manner of appearances of meddling with any outward affairs. Joui saw me only in private; I went to the Hôtel de Chevreuse only in the night-time with Malclerc. I was seen now by none but Canons and Curates, which was made a mighty jest of at the Palais-royal, and at the Hôtel de Condé. I had at that time a great bird-cage made, which gave occasion to Nogent's saying, *That the Coadjutor passed his time in whistling to his birds*. The disposition in which the people of Paris was, proved a great comfort against this ridiculing of me at the Palais-royal. I was upon very good terms in the city, and the better because the court and the Princes were there but upon ill ones. The Curates, the under Priests, and the mendicant Friars, had had due information given them of the Prince of Condé's negotiations. I gave the Duke of Beaufort strokes which he did not parry with address enough. Mr. de Chateaufort, who had retired to Montrouge after the taking of the seals from him, sent me all the informations which he received, and which for the most part proved very good, coming from the Marechal de Villeroi, and from Jarzay, commander of Malthe. The Duke of Orleans, who was in his heart enraged at the court, took great care to keep up his correspondence with me. What I am going to relate gave a form to these preludes.

The Viscount d'Autel came to me between twelve and one at night; and told me that the Marechal du Plessis, his brother, was in his coach at the gate. As soon as he was come up, he embraced me, and said: 'I salute you as our first Minister,' but seeing me smile at these words: 'Sir,' added he, 'I don't jest: it will be your own fault if it is not so. The Queen has this moment commanded me to tell you that she will put the King's person and his crown into your hands.' After this he informed me of the Prince of Condé's pretended treaty with Servien and Lionne, which I have mentioned before. He told me that the Cardinal had wrote to the Queen, that if she added the government of Provence to that of Guienne, which she had yielded to his Highness, she was for ever dishonoured, and that the King her son, when he should become of age, would look upon her as having lost him his state: that she might perceive how great his zeal was for her service, in giving her an advice so contrary to his own interest; that this treaty with the Prince mentioning as it did his return and settlement, he might find his account in it, because the King's minister, tho' his wings

are elipt, may find sometimes a greater advantage as to his private concerns, in the diminution than in the increase of his master's authority, [this is what the Cardinal could hardly have made good:] but that he chose rather to go a begging all his life-time from door to door, than to consent that the Queen should herself contribute to that diminution of authority, chiefly that she should do it in regard to him. At this last word the Mareschal du Pleffis took out of his pocket the letter itself, written with the Cardinal's own hand, which was familiar to me. I don't remember ever to have seen so fine a letter. This part of it which I am going to transcribe, made me judge that it was writ only for a shew, for as to its not being writ in cypher, that signified nothing, because it came by a very safe way. It ended thus: 'You know, Madam, that the most capital enemy I have in the world, is the Coadjutor. Make use of him, Madam, rather than treat with the Prince upon the terms which he asks. Make the Coadjutor a Cardinal; give him my post; let him have my apartment. He will perhaps be more attached to the Duke of Orleans than to your Majesty; but the Duke does not desire the loss of the state; his intentions are not bad at the bottom. In short, any thing, Madam, rather than grant the Prince what he asks: should he obtain it, the next step must be the carrying him to Rheims.' \* This is the Cardinal's letter. Perhaps I don't remember the very words; but I am very sure this is the substance. I believe that you will not condemn the judgment I made of it to myself. I told the Mareschal however that I look'd upon it as very sincere, and that consequently it was impossible that I should think myself otherwise than extremely obliged to the Cardinal. But as at the bottom I took but half of it for genuine on the side of the court, I resolved to act in the same manner on my side; that is, not to accept the post of Minister, but to get the Cardinal's hat by it, if I could. This made me say to the Mareschal du Pleffis that I was sensibly beholden to her Majesty, and that for a proof of my gratitude I begged leave to serve her without any interest; that I was all manner of ways incapable of supplying the Cardinal's post; that it was even against the Queen's dignity, to raise a man to it so lately engaged in a faction; that he appeared still in a manner hot, and reeking with it; that the single title of Minister would render my service useless to her with the Duke of Orleans, and much more so with the people. These two points were

*\* The place where the French Kings are commonly crowned.*

in the present juncture of the greatest importance to the Queen. 'But,' reply'd immediately, the Marechal du Plessis, 'we must have somebody to fill up the niche; so long as it is empty, the Prince will say that it is still kept for the Cardinal, and that will give strength to his Highness's party.' 'You have other persons,' answered I, 'much fitter for that purpose than I am.' 'Who are they,' said the Marechal? 'The first President would not please the Frondeurs, and neither the Queen nor the Duke will ever trust Chavigny.' After some winding about, I named Chateaufort; at which he said, in great surprize: 'What! are you ignorant that it was he that opposed your promotion to the hat at Fontainebleau? Are you ignorant that it was he that wrote with his own hand that fine memorial, filled up with your praises, to the Parliament?' This was the first time of my hearing this last circumstance, for I had been informed before of the trick at Fontainebleau. I answered the Marechal, that perhaps I was not so ignorant as he imagined; but that, time had brought forth reconciliations, whereby, in relation to the publick, all past matters ought to be forgotten, and that I hated mortally to be put to the necessity of making apologies. 'But,' replied the Marechal, 'suppose the memorial sent to the Parliament, is put into your own hands?' - - - - 'In that case,' said I, 'I will forsake Mr. de Chateaufort, because that memorial, written since our reconciliation, will be my apology.' The Marechal was very eager upon this article, and he took an opportunity from it, to tell me with a nicer turn than I expected from him, that the Duke of Orleans had likewise forsaken me, which he insinuated with a design of discovering upon what terms I was with him. I seemed to consent to give him that satisfaction, by answering that it was true; but that I would however forbear treating the Duke in a like manner with Mr. de Chateaufort. In saying this I did as if I could not forbear smiling a little, to give him to understand that perhaps I was not upon so ill terms with the Duke as it was believed. The Marechal observing that after this little opening, I had closed up again immediately, he said to me: 'It is necessary that you should yourself see the Queen.' I seemed as if I had not heard him speak these words, which made him repeat them once more; and then, of a sudden, he flung a paper upon the table, saying: 'Take this and read it; won't you trust to this?' It was a paper signed by the Queen, giving me all possible assurances of safety if I would go to the Palais-Royal. 'No, Sir,' said I to the Marechal, 'I will not trust to this, as you shall



' shall presently see.' I then kissed the paper with the profoundest respect, and flung it into the fire, saying: 'When  
 ' will you carry me to the Queen?' I never saw a man more surprized than the Marechal. We agreed that I should meet him on the morrow at midnight in St. Honoré's cloyster, which I did. He carried me by a privy stair-case, to the Queen's little oratory. In a quarter of an hour's time, the Queen came to us, the Marechal went away, and I was left alone with her Majesty. She said, in order to induce me to accept of Cardinal Mazarin's post, and of his apartment at the Palais-royal, every thing, except only and precisely what was necessary to have persuaded me to it: for I perceived clearly that she had more than ever the Cardinal in her mind and in her heart; and though she affected to say that it was true that she had a great esteem and love for him, but not so great as to ruin the state upon his account; I had all manner of ground to believe that she was more disposed than ever to hazard every thing for his sake. I was even convinced before I left her that I judged aright; for as soon as she had found that I would not accept the place of minister, she mentioned the Cardinalship, only as the price of the efforts I should make for her sake, she said, towards re-establishing Mazarin. I then thought that it was necessary for me to speak frankly, though it was upon so nice a subject; but it was ever my opinion, *that when any one finds himself obliged to speak in a manner which he foresees will be disliked, he cannot give too great an appearance of sincerity to what he says, because it is the only means to render it more acceptable.* Upon this ground I spoke to the Queen in this manner. 'I am sorry at  
 ' heart, Madam, that it has pleased God to bring matters to  
 ' a point, which not only gives a subject leave, but even  
 ' forces him to speak to his sovereign in the manner in which  
 ' I am going to speak to your Majesty. You know better  
 ' than any one, Madam, that one of my crimes with the  
 ' Cardinal was the foretelling what would happen, and I  
 ' have passed for the author of that, which I had only prophesied. My predictions are come to pass, Madam; and  
 ' God, who sees my heart, knows that there is nobody in  
 ' the whole kingdom, without exception, more afflicted at it  
 ' than I am. Your Majesty desires, with a great deal of  
 ' reason, to be disentangled from these troubles; and I beg  
 ' leave most humbly to tell your Majesty, that in my opinion  
 ' it will be impossible to effect it, so long as you think of re-  
 ' establishing the Cardinal. What I say, Madam, is not  
 ' with any hopes of persuading your Majesty of it, but only  
 ' with

with a view of acquitting myself of what I owe you. I have  
 touched upon this with as gentle a hand as ever I could,  
 because I know it to be disagreeable to your Majesty, and I  
 now come to what concerns me. I have, Madam, so vio-  
 lent a desire to be able to make you some amends by my  
 services, for what it has been my misfortune to be forced to  
 act in these late conjunctures, that the only rule which I  
 intend to be led by in all my actions, is that which I shall  
 think the most tending to your Majesty's real good. I  
 cannot pronounce that word without desiring again, in the  
 most humble manner, your Majesty to forgive me. In the  
 common course of affairs, the using this freedom would be  
 criminal, because at that time the will of the master is the  
 only thing to be minded. But the misfortunes that have  
 befallen the state, permit and even oblige those of a certain  
 rank to have no other view but that of serving it, which is  
 a duty that an honest man ought never to think himself  
 exempt from. I should be wanting to the respect which I  
 owe your Majesty, should I pretend to contradict, other-  
 wise than by a most humble and most sincere remonstrance,  
 the thoughts you have for the Cardinal: but considering the  
 present juncture, I hope that I shall preserve all the respect  
 due to your Majesty, if I represent to you with a profound  
 submission what may render me either useful or useless to  
 your Majesty's service at this time. You are, Madam, to de-  
 fend yourself against the Prince of Condé, who will consent  
 to see the Cardinal re-established; provided you give his  
 Highness before-hand wherewithal to destroy his Eminence  
 whenever he pleases. You cannot resist the Prince of Condé  
 without the help of the Duke of Orleans, who will not  
 consent to the re-establishment of the Cardinal, and who  
 will have no other will than yours, if the Cardinal re-  
 mains excluded. You are not willing, Madam, to grant  
 to either of these Princes what they would have. I have all  
 the desire imaginable of serving your Majesty against the  
 one, and of bringing the other into your measures; but that  
 can never be compassed but by following the steps that will  
 lead to both these ends. The Prince of Condé has no other  
 strength against your Majesty but that which he borrows from  
 the people's hatred against the Cardinal; and the Duke of  
 Orleans can in no respect (excepting that of his birth)  
 be capable of serving you effectually against the Prince, if  
 you take away from him his merit with the people for what  
 he has done against the Cardinal. You see, Madam, how  
 much art it requires to reconcile these contradictions, even if  
 the

' the Duke was brought over to act as your Majesty desires,  
 ' which he is not; neither, in my conscience, do I think it  
 ' possible to bring him to it; and I rather believe, that if  
 ' he saw the least glimpse of a design in me of leading him  
 ' that way, he would immediately put himself into the hands  
 ' of the Prince of Condé.' The Queen smiled at these last  
 words, and said: ' If you were but willing'. . . . .  
 ' No, Madam,' replied I, ' I swear by all that is most  
 ' sacred that I tell your Majesty the truth.' ' Come over to  
 ' me,' continued she, ' and I will laugh at your Duke, who is  
 ' the most contemptible creature in the world.' I answered her  
 in these words: ' I swear to you, Madam, that if I took these  
 ' steps, and if it should in the least appear that I altered my  
 ' conduct in regard to the Cardinal, I should become more  
 ' unfit to serve your Majesty with the Duke, and with the  
 ' people, than the Prelate of Dole is, because I should incur  
 ' their hatred beyond comparison more than that Prelate has  
 done.' The Queen at last grew angry, and told me that God  
 would protect the King her son, since every body forsook him.  
 She was for above half a quarter of an hour in a great hurry  
 of thought, but she came to herself afterwards gently enough.  
 I was about to have made use of that instant, to pursue the  
 discourse which I had begun, but she interrupted me and said:  
 ' I do not blame you in respect to the Duke so much as you  
 ' think: he is a strange gentleman. But,' continued she pretty  
 warmly, ' I do every thing for you; I have offered you the  
 ' Minister's Place; I offer to make you a Cardinal; what is  
 ' it you will do for me?' ' If your Majesty,' replied I, ' had  
 ' given me leave to make an end of what I was about to say,  
 ' you might have seen before now that I was not come hither  
 ' to accept of graces, before I had done my best to deserve  
 them.' At this the Queen looked more chearful: ' And what  
 ' will you do?' said she gently to me. ' Will your Majesty,'  
 answered I, ' give me leave, or rather command me to say a very  
 foolish thing, because it will be against the respect due to royal  
 blood?' ' Speak, speak,' said the Queen, who was impatient  
 to hear me. ' Madam,' continued I, ' I will oblige the  
 ' Prince of Condé to leave Paris before eight days are passed,  
 ' and I will take away by to-morrow the Duke of Orleans  
 ' from him.' The Queen in a transport of joy gave me her hand,  
 saying, ' Shake hands with me, for the next day after you  
 ' are a Cardinal, and which is more, the second in my heart.'  
 She would afterwards enter into the means I had, which I  
 explained to her: I cannot express how much she liked them.

She



She suffered me very kindly to relate several particulars, and to make her a kind of an apology about past matters. She approved, or seemed to approve, part of my reasons; the rest she opposed, but she did it in a mild and in a kind manner. She returned afterwards to the Cardinal, telling me that she would have us be friends; but I shewed her that the least appearance of a friendship between us would render me entirely useless to her service, and I therefore begged of her to let me bear the character of an enemy to Mazarin. 'But,' said the Queen, 'I truly believe that never any thing so strange as this has happened. In order to serve me you must become the enemy of him in whom I confide.' 'Yes, Madam,' replied I, 'it is so; but did I not tell your Majesty at my first coming hither that we are come to a time, when an honest man is sometimes ashamed of the manner in which he is obliged to speak? But, Madam,' continued I, 'to convince your Majesty that I go as far in respect to the Cardinal as my duty and my honour will permit, I make him a proposal: let him make use of the terms on which I am with the Prince, as I make use of the terms on which the Prince is with him; he may perhaps find his account in it, as I confess I do mine.' The Queen laughed heartily at this, and then she asked whether I would tell the Duke of Orleans what had passed between her and me? I answered, that I knew for certain that he would approve of all, and for a sign of it, that he would speak to her the next day at the circle of an apartment she was about either to build or to repair at Fontainebleau. As I was begging of her to keep this matter secret, she told me that it was much more her interest to do so than I thought. Upon this she uttered all that rage could furnish her with against Servien and Lionne, whom she called twenty times traitors. She said that Chavigny was a little rascal; and as for le Tellier, whom she mentioned last, she said: 'He is no traitor as the others are, but is weak; and is not grateful enough.' 'Madam,' said I, 'after this, let your Majesty give me leave to tell you, that so long as the place of first Minister remains empty, the Prince will take a great advantage from it, because he will always pretend that it is kept so on purpose till the Cardinal's return.' 'That is true,' replied the Queen, and I have considered of what you were saying last night upon that account, to the Marechal du Pleffis. Old Chateauneuf is fit for that purpose, but it will be a difficult matter to bring the Cardinal to approve of it, because he hates him mortally, and that on good ground. Le Tellier is of opinion that Chateauneuf is the

only

'only man that can serve this turn; but by the by,' added the Queen, 'I admire your folly. You think it a point of honour in you to bring this man again into play, when you have no greater enemy than him on earth. Stay.'—At this she went out of the oratory, and coming back immediately, she flung upon a small altar the memorial against me, which I have spoken of. It was blotted in several places, but writ by Chateaneuf himself. I said to the Queen, after I had read it: 'If you are pleased, Madam, to give me leave to shew this paper, I will to-morrow separate from Mr. de Chateaneuf. But your Majesty will easily judge, that without a proof of this nature, my leaving him would bring a disgrace upon me.' 'No,' replied the Queen, 'I will not have you shew it: Chateaneuf will be useful to us; I will therefore have you care for him more than ever.' At this she took the paper from me, adding: 'I keep it to shew it in due time to his good friend Madam de Chevreuse. But now I am speaking of a good friend, said the Queen, you have a better friend perhaps than you imagine; guess who it is.' Then the Queen named the Princess Palatine, at which I was much surprized, because I thought her still in the interest of the Prince of Condé. 'You seem surprized,' said the Queen, 'but she is more dissatisfied with the Prince than you are: You must see her, for we have agreed that she and you shall resolve together what it is fit to write to the Cardinal upon all this matter, for you may easily judge that I will execute nothing till I have heard from him: not,' added she, 'that it is necessary in respect to your being made a Cardinal, for he is altogether resolved upon it, and he frankly owns that you can no longer desist from it yourself. But it is necessary to persuade him in regard to Chateaneuf, which it will be very difficult to do. The Princess Palatine will inform you of some other matters. Berthet must be dispatched, the time is pressing, for you see how the Prince uses me; he is every day braving me since I have disowned my two traitors,' for this is the name she gave Servien and Lionne: but you will find that she soon altered her opinion in relation to the first. I took hold of that instant, when I saw her moved with anger, to make my court to her the better, and I said: 'In less than two days, Madam, the Prince will cease to brave you. Your Majesty will stay till you hear from the Cardinal, before you effect what you are pleased to promise me; I humbly beg that I may have leave to lose no time in serving you.' The Queen was moved at these words, as being full of respect; but the truth is besides, that

that I ought to lose no time, because I had observed that the Prince for the last five or six days was gaining ground by his open manner of attacking Mazarin, and that it was therefore necessary that I should appear upon the stage, to have a share in the attack. I set in the best light I could before the Queen, but without any affectation, my intended steps, and I made an end of explaining to her the manner in which I was to execute them, having said something of it to her before. She was transported with joy at what I said; not but that her tenderness for her dear Cardinal made it a little hard for her to consent to my continuing not to spare him in the Parliament, where there was a necessity of declaiming against him every quarter of an hour: it was that necessity that made her at last give her consent.

I had already left the Queen, when she called me back to remind me that it was altogether to the Cardinal's instances that I owed my nomination. I told her Majesty how much I thought myself obliged to him for it, and how willing I should always be to express my gratitude in any manner that was not against my honour: that I begged of her Majesty to remember what I had told her at first, and that she might be assured that I should doubly deceive her if I pretended that I could serve her in re-establishing the Cardinal in his post. I observed that the Queen stood musing a little; and then she said to me with a pretty chearful countenance: 'Go your ways, you are a meer devil; see the Princess Palatine; good night. Let me know the day before, when you intend to go to the Parliament.' She had sent back the Marechal du Plessis, so she put me into the hands of Gabouri, who carried me by several bye-ways, till he had brought me to the gate of the kitchen court.

I went the next night to the Duke of Orleans, whose joy at what I told him cannot be expressed. He however chid me much for refusing to accept the Minister's post, and his apartment at the Palais-royal, telling me that the Queen was governed by habit, and that in time I might have gained upon her. I am still of opinion that I acted not wrong on that occasion. *Favour is never to be played with. One can't embrace it too closely if it be real, nor keep too far off from it if it be dissimulated.*

From the Duke's I went to the Princess Palatine, with whom I staid till very near break of day. I have made all possible efforts to bring back into my memory the reasons of discontent she told me she had against the Prince of Condé. I know very well that she mentioned three or four, of which  
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I can remember but two, and of those two, the first, in my opinion, was rather alledged in regard to me than to the person interested : the second indeed was in every respect solid and real. She shared, she said, the affront done to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, because it was she that had made the first proposal about her marriage. The Prince of Condé had not done his best to procure the superintendancy of the finances to old la Vieuville, father to the Chevalier of that name, whom she passionately loved. But she told me that the Queen had given her positive word for that post, to which she desired likewise my help. I desired her's towards my Cardinalship, and having mutually engaged, we faithfully kept our promises to one another. I really believe that it is to her chiefly that I owe my hat ; for she managed the Cardinal with so much art, that with the worst intentions in the world, he was at last forced to let it fall upon my head. We agreed that night and the next upon all that was to be done in relation to Bertet's journey. The Princess Palatine wrote a long letter in cypher, which he was to carry to the Cardinal, and which perhaps was one of the finest pieces that ever was wrote. Among other things, she mentioned my refusing to serve the Queen, in relation to his returning to court, so nicely and artfully, that it appeared even to me, that it was the thing in the world the most advantageous to his Eminence. You may be sure that I stood not idle on the side of Rome. On that of Paris, I prepared the minds of people to the new scene which I intended shortly to open. The importance of the two governments of Guienne and Provence was much magnified among the publick, and the neighbourhood of Spain and of Italy was not forgotten. The Spaniards that had not yet evacuated the town of Stenay, tho' the Prince had the citadel in his hands, were taken notice of as the thing deserved. After I had in this manner prepared the publick, I spoke more openly to particular persons. I told them that I was extremely grieved that the condition which I saw things to be in should oblige me to leave the retreat which I had resolved upon ; that after so much agitation and trouble, I had hoped that people might have enjoyed an innocent and secure tranquillity ; but that it appeared to me that we were like to fall into a much worse condition than that which we were lately got out of, because the negotiations that were continually held with Mazarin caused the state a much greater evil than his Ministry had done ; that it entertained the Queen's hopes of her seeing him re-established, whereby nothing was done but by his means and his direction ; and that the Prince of Condé's pretensions being immense, we run the risk

risk of having a civil war, as the prelude of Mazarin's return, which he would buy by an accommodation with the Prince, of which the Duke of Orleans would be the victim; but that his quality would prevent his ruin, when nothing could prevent that of the poor Frondeurs. This canvass, which was as you see both fine and strong, was put into a frame by Caumartin, and I took care to embroider it with all the colours that I thought would be most liked by those to whom I shewed it, in which I had a good success, for in three or four days time I found that I had done what I intended; after which I sent the Queen word by the Princess Palatine that I should go the next day to the Parliament. I would have you to judge of the Queen's joy by a transport she fell into, that deserves to be observed only for the better representing that joy to you. I believe that I have already told you that Madam de Chevreuse had always preserved a sufficient regard for the Queen, and had taken care to make her believe that she was much more carried away in relation to what past, by her daughter's inclination than by her own. I cannot well tell you what the Queen really believed about it, because I have observed things very different upon that subject. The consequence however of this was that Madam de Chevreuse continued to go to the Palais-royal, even at the time that the Prince of Condé thought himself master there, and to speak to the Queen with much familiarity, as soon as the treaty, which he thought he had concluded with Servien and Lionne, had been disowned. She was in the Queen's closet with her daughter the day that the Princess Palatine had wrote the Queen word that I would go the next day to the Parliament. The Queen called to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and asked her whether I continued firm in that resolution? the lady answering that I would go, the Queen kissed her two or three times, saying to her, 'Thou rogue thou; thou dost me now as much good as thou hast done me harm.'

You have already seen in what manner the Prince of Condé quickened the Parliament from time to time, with a view of making himself more considerable at court. When he knew that the Cardinal had broken his treaty with Servien and Lionne, he then did all he could to inflame that Company, that he might make himself the more dreadful to the Queen. There happened there every day some new scene. Sometimes persons were sent into the Provinces to inform against the Cardinal. Sometimes a search was made in Paris after his effects. Sometimes they declaimed in the assembly of the chambers, against the Bertets, the Brachets, and the Fouquets, who

who were continually going and coming from Paris to Breull, and from Breull to Paris. Having ceased since my retreat to go to the Parliament, I observed that my absence was made use of to make the people believe that I grew milder in regard to Mazarin; and that I was afraid to meet with any occasions of being obliged to declare myself about him. A certain scribler named Montardé, who had had his nose slit by De Vardes, for writing I don't know what libel against the Maréchal de Guebriant's lady, De Vardes's sister, attached himself to get bread; to the decayed fortune of the Commander de St. Simon, the chief of those among the party of the Princes whose employment was clamouring and making a noise. This scribler attack'd me, by writing in twelve or fifteen days times twelve or fifteen libels against me, all of them worse one than the other. I had them brought to me at dinner-time, that after dinner they might be read to all the company that I had with me. And when I judged that I had given particular persons sufficiently to understand that I despised these sorts of invectives, I resolved to let the publick see that I knew however how to take them up. To that effect I sat carefully about writing a short but a general answer, which I called an apology of the old and legitimate Fronde, that appeared to be literally writ against Mazarin, but the meaning of which was chiefly against those who made use of his name for pulling down the royal authority. I got that answer to be cried about and sold all over Paris, by fifty hawkers, who appeared at once, having each their particular station appointed, with persons to support them. I went that same morning to the Parliament, accompanied by 400 men. I took my place, after I had made a very low bow to the Prince of Condé, whom I found before the fire in the great chamber, he likewise saluting me very civilly. During the sitting he spoke with a great deal of sharpness against the transporting of money out of the kingdom by Cantarini, Cardinal Mazarin's banker. You may well judge that I spoke as much against it as he, and all those of the old Fronde set themselves upon out-doing those of the new. These last seemed embarrassed at it; and Croissi, who was of that number, and who had just before read my pamphlet, said to Caumartin: 'This is a good thrust; you understand it better than we do: I was in the right to advise the Prince to cause that rascal Montardé to hold his tongue.' Montardé continuing however to write, I continued to do the like on my side, and to employ others to do it for me. Portail, an advocate of the Parliament and an able man, writ at that time, *The Coadjutor's Defence*, a piece full of



of the greatest eloquence. Sarrazin, Secretary to the Prince of Conti, writ against me a curious piece, called *The Church-warden's Letter to the Parson*, which was answered by *The Parson's Letter to the Church-warden*, a very ingenious piece writ by Patru, \* a gentleman of great wit and politeness. I wrote myself after this *What is true and what is false in relation to the Prince of Condé, and to the Cardinal de Retz. The Probability. The Solitary. The Interests of the Time. The preposterous doings of the Sieur de Chavigny. The Duke † of Beaufort's Manifesto, writ in his own Jarçon.* Joly, who belonged to me, writ *The Intrigues of the Peace*. Montardé's fund of abusive language was quite exhausted, for 'tis certain that there was no comparison to be made between his way of writing and ours. Croissi interposed, to put an end to that paper-war. The Prince of Condé forbid it to those of his side, even in very obliging terms in respect to me. I did the like on my side, in the most respectful manner. Pamphlets were at an end on either side, and both the Frondes directed now their attacks only against Mazarin. That paper-war lasted three or four months before this suspension happened, but I have thought it the best way to speak of it all at once, that I might not be obliged to mention often a thing which can't well be omitted, but which in my opinion deserves but very little to be taken notice of. There were above sixty volumes of pamphlets writ during the course of the civil war, and I believe that I may say with truth that not one hundred pages amongst them deserve to be read.

My appealing at the Parliament pleased the Queen so well, that she writ that very afternoon to the Princess Palatine, desiring her to let me know how well she was satisfied, and to command me in her name to be the next night between eleven and twelve at the gate of St. Honoré's cloyster. Gabouri met me there, and carried me to the Queen, whom I found in her little oratory, hardly capable of expressing the joy she felt to see in the open streets of Paris a party that durst declare against the Prince of Condé. She owned to me that she had not thought the thing possible, at least that it could have appeared in so little a time. She told me that le Tellier could not yet persuade himself of the truth of it, adding, that Servien affirmed that I must act secretly in concert with the Prince of Condé. 'But I do not wonder at what Servien says,' said

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\* See the Preface.

† This piece was writ by M. Girard, Author of the Life of the Duke d'Epemon.

the Queen; ' he is a traitor that holds intelligence with the Prince, and who is sorry at heart to see that you dare oppose him. And this puts me upon acquainting you,' continued she, ' that I ought to make Lionne amends, who has been deceived by Servien, and has not been in fault at all in all that has passed. The poor man is so much grieved for having been suspected, that I could not refuse him the comfort he has asked me, of conferring with you this evening about what is to be done against the Prince.'

I should tire you if I related the particulars that had cleared Lionne in the Queen's opinion; but I must observe in general that his acquittal did not appear to me much better grounded than the distrust taken thitherto of him. I say thitherto, because you will presently see that his conduct afterwards shewed a very extraordinary sort of regard for the Prince. But of all that I saw at that time in the Queen's complaint against Servien and Lionne for their treaty with the Prince, wherein they promised him the government of Provence, I could never form to myself, nor cannot still, any idea either to condemn or justify them, because that even those facts, relating to that affair, which have been the best cleared, are encompassed with such a number of obscure and odd circumstances, that I remember people lost themselves in them, at the times that were the nearest to them. What is most certain, is, that the Queen, who had spoke to me, as I have mentioned, of Servien and Lionne, upon the last day of May, as of two traitors, mentioned Lionne to me upon the 25th of June, as being a true honest man, and that upon the 28th of that month she sent me word by the Princess Palatine that Servien's fault did not proceed from malice, and that the Cardinal was fully persuaded of his innocence. I never remembered to ask the Prince about this detail, who was the only man that could have explained it.

I return to my conference with the Queen. It lasted till two in the morning, and to my thinking I could see clearly, both in her heart and in her mind, that she was afraid of a reconciliation between the Prince and the Cardinal; that she earnestly wished that the Cardinal would leave that thought, which he gave into, she said, out of an excess of goodness, like a simpleton: and that she did not account the civil war for any great misfortune. But as she owned however, that the shortest way would be to arrest the Prince, if it was possible she commanded me to shew her the means of doing it. I never could find out the reason why she did not approve the way I proposed, which was to engage the Duke of Orleans to have

have it done at his palace. I knew the thing was possible, and that my proposal would not be disowned; but she would never hearken to it, under pretence that the Duke would never be capable of such a resolution; and that there would be even too much danger to communicate the thing to him. I do not know whether she was not afraid that the Duke, after so notable a stroke, might be willing to turn it afterwards against herself. Neither do I know whether what de Hocquincourt has told me of his offering to kill the Prince, by attacking him in the street, had not appeared to her the most decisive way. In short she rejected entirely that of the Duke, which was infallible, and she commanded me to talk with de Hocquincourt, 'who will tell you,' added she, 'that there are surer means than that you propose.'\*

I saw de Hocquincourt the next day at the hôtel de Chevreuse, who gave me a very familiar and particular account of the offer he had made the Queen. I was struck with horror at it, and I am obliged to say, for the sake of truth, that Madam de Chevreuse was as much shocked at it as I. What is wonderful is, that the Queen, who had sent me the day before to de Hocquincourt, as to a man who had proposed to her a thing very reasonable, told Madam de Chevreuse and me, that she extremely approved our sentiments, which certainly were very remote from an act of that nature. She even denied entirely that de Hocquincourt had explained to her his proposal as he did to me. This is the fact, which I leave you to make your conjectures on. Mr. de Lionne has told me since, that a quarter of an hour after Madam de Chevreuse's telling the Queen, that I had rejected with horror the proposal of de Hocquincourt, her Majesty said to Senneterre, upon a trifling pretence, 'the Coadjutor is not so bold a man as I took him for.' The Mareschal du Pleffis told me likewise just at that time, and upon as trifling a pretence, that scruples were beneath great men. I made no application of that saying at that time, but what has made me take notice of it since, and made me all along believe that the Mareschal du Pleffis knew of de Hocquincourt's proposal, and approved of it, is, that the Duke de Vitri has told me more than once, that Madam d'Ormail, the Mareschal's relation and intimate friend, had sent for him (the Duke de Vitri) at Aigreville, and that she had proposed to him at Picpus,

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\* See the character of the Mareschal de Hocquincourt, given by M. de St. Evremont, and how well it agrees with what the Cardinal de Retz says of that Mareschal.



whither he came at her request, to come into an enterprize jointly with the Marechal du Pleffis, against the Prince's person. She addressed herself to the wrong man, for I never knew any body more incapable of a villanous action than the Duke de Vitri.

The day after what the Marechal du Pleffis had said to me, I received at four in the morning a note from Montresor, that desired me to come to him without losing one moment. I found Mr. de Lionne at his house, who told me that the Queen could no longer bear with the Prince of Condé, and that she had certain advice that he was forming an enterprize to make himself master of the King's person; that he had sent into Flanders to conclude a treaty with the Spaniards; that either he or she must fall; that she would not make use of bloody means, but that those proposed by de Hocquincourt could not be called such, having assured her the day before that he would seize upon the Prince without striking a blow, provided the people by my means might be of his side. In short, I clearly saw by all that Mr. de Lionne said, that the Queen must have been inflamed afresh, and I found immediately after, that I had guessed right: for I learnt from Lionne, that Ondedei was arrived with a cutting memorial against the Prince, which served to convince the Queen that she needed not to fear the too great mildness of the Cardinal. Lionne appeared to me to be himself very much incensed at the Prince, and even beyond what decency would allow. You will see by the sequel that his animosity was as much affected as that of the Queen was natural.

Every thing contributed at that time to incense her mind. The Parliament continued with great sharpness their criminal proceedings against the Cardinal, who was convicted by Cantariani's register of having stolen nine millions of livres. The Prince, notwithstanding all the resistance which the first President could make, had obliged the chambers to assemble, and to put out a new arrest against the correspondence which those of the court kept with him. The orders from Breull arrived at this juncture, and easily kindled the Queen's choler, which was naturally inclined to great heats; and Lionne, who, in my opinion, thought that the Prince would remain master of the field of Battle, either by faction or negotiation, and who for that reason was willing to keep fair with him, omitted nothing to oblige me to carry things to extremes, likely enough with a design of discovering all my game, and of recommending himself to the Prince, by his being able to let

let him into the knowledge of it. He pressed me to a degree, which to this day I remain still surprized at, to concur with de Hocquincourt's enterprize, which ever tended, in words a little disguised, to assassinate the Prince. He challenged me twenty times in the Queen's name to perform the promise I had given her of making the Prince quit the town; he carried his instances even to the falling into a passion, and he seemed to me to be but little pleased with his conference with me, though I had offered him to cause the Prince to be arrested at the palace of Orleans, or in case that the Queen continued to be averse to that way, to continue to go myself to the Parliament, accompanied by a number of men sufficient to oppose the Prince if he attempted any thing against her service. Montresor, who assisted at this conference, has always believed that Lionne was sincere in what he said to me; that his real intention was to destroy the Prince, and that he did not come to keep any measures with him till after he had seen that I was against bloody means, which made him conjecture that the Prince would remain master at last. It is true, that in the discourse which Lionne had with me, he repeated two or three times Machiavel's saying, which is, *that most men perish, because they are wicked only by halves*. However, I am still persuaded that Montresor did not judge rightly, and that Lionne's intent from the time that he first spoke to me, was no other than the discovering my real intention to make the use which he did of it. What has all along kept me firm in this belief, is a certain air which I observed in his countenance and in his words, which cannot be expressed, but which often serves better to persuade than the strongest expressions. This observation I have made perhaps a thousand times in my life: for what I further observed on this occasion is, that there are inexplicable points in affairs, and that are even so at the moment in which they happen. The conversation I had with Lionne at Montresor's began at five in the morning and ended at seven. At eight Lionne informed the Marechal de Grammont of it, who communicated it at ten to the Prince, by the means of Chavigny. This shews how well Lionne was, in all likelihood, inclined to the Prince. It is true, however, that he discovered none of the particulars of our conversation; that he said not a word of de Hocquincourt, though that concerned the Prince most; and that he contented himself with letting his Highness know that the Queen was treating with the Coadjutor to have him arrested. I never durst touch that point to Mr. de Lionne, which, as you see, could not turn much to his honour. The Prince

Prince of Condé, whom I asked about it, seemed to me to be no better informed than I about this unevenness in Lionne's conduct. The Queen herself, with whom I had a long conversation two days after upon that subject, was as much surprized at it as perhaps you are yourself. Must we not after this admire the insolence of vulgar historians, who think it would turn to their discredit, if they left in their works a single event, of which they knew not the most sacred springs; which springs they commonly regulate by their college dials.

The information which Lionne gave to the Prince remained not a secret. I learnt it the same day at eight in the evening from Madam de Pommereux, to whom Flamarin had told it, who likewise told her the channel through which it went to the Prince. I went immediately to the Princess Palatine who had already been informed of it by another hand. I learnt from her a circumstance which I have forgot, though as far as I can remember, it was of great importance. It related to the error which the Queen had committed in trusting Lionne. I very well remember that the Princess Palatine added, that the Queen's first thought, after she had received the dispatch from Bréull, which I have mentioned, was to send for me to her little oratory at the usual hour; but that she durst not do it for fear of displeasing Ondedie, who had expressed some distrust about our private conferences. Lionne's treachery stunned this same Ondedie to a point that made him cease to be so nice, and that made him himself press the Queen to command me to come to her the next night.

I met Gabouri over-against the White Friars, the rendezvous at the cloyster, which was known to Lionne, not being judged safe. For that same reason I was not carried to the little oratory, but into the little gallery. I found the Queen transported with passion at Lionne, but at the same time as much exasperated as before against the Prince. She returned again to de Hocquincourt's proposal, and continued still to give it an innocent turn. I opposed her strenuously, by maintaining that the success could never be innocent. At this her anger against me occasioned reproaches, and she even expressed some diffidence about my sincerity. I bore these diffidences and reproaches with the submission and the respect which I owed to her, and I contented myself with speaking these words: 'Your Majesty is against shedding the Prince's blood, and I take the liberty to tell you, that you will thank me for opposing its being shed against your intent, which it would be, Madam, in less than two days, if the means proposed by Mr. de Hocquincourt were followed.' The mildest means  
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which de Hocquincourt had at last proposed, was to make himself master, at break of day, of the pavillion at the hôtel de Condé, and to surprize there the Prince in his bed. I leave you to judge whether this design was practicable without the shedding of blood, when it was to be executed in a house where every body was upon the watch, and against the man of the greatest courage in the world. After a very warm and long contest, the Queen was obliged to content herself with my continuing to act the same part I had done before: 'By which means,' said I to her, 'I dare promise your Majesty, that either the Prince will leave you mistress of Paris, or that I shall die for your Majesty's service, and so take off with my blood the distrust which Ondedei has imprinted in your mind against me.' The Queen, who saw me moved at what she had said, used me with abundance of civility, adding at last, that I wronged Ondedei, whom she would have me to see. She sent immediately Gabouri for him, and he came dressed like the bully in a play, and with feathers enough on his hat to load a mule. His discourse appeared to me more foolish still than his dress. It run all upon the easiness of overthrowing the Prince, and re-establishing the Cardinal. He treated the instances I made to the Queen, to consent that the Duke of Orleans should arrest the Prince in his palace, as ridiculous proposals, made with a design of eluding the most easy and reasonable enterprizes that might be formed against him. In short, all that I saw that night of that man was but a series of impertinence

\* To give a further description of this Ondedei, and to say something at the same time of the President de Bellievre, so often mentioned in these memoirs, it may not be amiss to transcribe here a passage out of the *Menagiana*, which relates to both of them. M. Menage, speaking of Ondedei, then Bishop of Frejus, says, that Cardinal Mazarin having sent him to M. de Bellievre, who was then first President of the Parliament of Paris, to intimidate him, and to threaten him with the loss of his liberty, and of his place, if he refused to do something which the Cardinal required of him; the magistrate, instead of answering, was looking out at window upon a horse, into whose mouth his servants were putting the bit: and every time that the Bishop was crying aloud to him, that a first President might be imprisoned, and lose his place as well as another, the first President was crying aloud to his people, pointing to the Bishop, 'What a bad-mouthed horse have I here!' See *Menagiana*, Vol. I. p. 209, 210.

impertinence and of rage. He grew indeed somewhat milder towards the end, at the Queen's most humble request, her Majesty appearing to have a great regard for him. The Princess Palatine told me two days after, that all that I had seen of this fellow was nothing, compared to what he did the next day, when he treated the Queen with an insolence that cannot be imagined. He was forced to abate a little of that insolence at the return of Bertet, who brought a long dispatch from the Cardinal, in which he blamed, and that very sharply, those that had hindered the Queen from coming into my proposal of causing the Prince to be arrested at the Duke's palace, in which he commended me highly for that proposal, accusing Ondedei of folly, le Tellier of cowardice, and Servien and Lionne of having suffered themselves to be duped; and in which he made very pressing instances to the Queen to have my nomination dispatched, for putting Mr. de Chateauneuf at the head of the Council, and for giving Mr. de la Vieuville the superintendancy of the finances. The Queen, an hour after the decyphering of this dispatch, sent me a command to go to her betwixt twelve and one at night. She shewed me the letter decyphered, which appeared to me genuine; she expressed a mighty joy for finding the Cardinal in these sentiments; she made me promise to set them in the best light before the Duke in giving an account of them, and to soften the Duke's mind in respect to the Cardinal as much as I possibly could: 'For I very well perceive,' added she, 'that it is the Duke only that keeps you back, and that if it was not for your engagement with him, you would be a Mazarinian.' I was glad to come off so cheap. I told her that I was extremely sorry to be so engaged, and that the only comfort I found in it was the belief I had that that engagement would make me more useful to her service, than might be otherwise. The Queen, after this, told me that the Marechal de Villeroy was of opinion, that it would be better for her to stay till the King came of age (which would soon be) before she declared publicly the change that was to be made in the council; because this new settlement, which would be very ill relished by the Prince, would receive still some strength and some dignity from the King's majority, which would give a new lustre to the royal authority: 'But,' said immediately the Queen, 'it would be proper for that same reason to put off your nomination, which is the opinion of Mr. de Chateauneuf.' At the saying of this the Queen smiled, and said: 'No; here it is in due form; we must not give the Prince of Condé time to cabal at Rome against you.' I leave you to imagine

imagine in what manner I answered the Queen, who did this with the best grace in the world, because she was herself deceived by the Cardinal, who writ her word that she must deal sincerely with me. Bluet, an advocate of the council-chamber, has told me several times since, that Ondedei, with whom he was intimate, had owned to him the night he arrived from Breull to Paris, that he had nothing more expressly in charge from the Cardinal, than the making the Queen believe, that he sincerely intended my promotion to the hat; \* Because, said the Cardinal to Ondedei, \* if the Queen knew what our real intention is, it would be impossible for her to keep it entirely hid from Madam de Chevreuse. That real intention of theirs will not surprize you, neither will it be hard for you to find out that it was a formed resolution of deceiving me; of setting me up against the Prince to serve their purpose, of traversing me under-hand at Rome; and of delaying my promotion, in hopes that the chapter of accidents would offer them some pretence or other for revoking it.

Fortune at first seemed to favour their projects, for the next day in the evening, having locked myself up at the Abbot de Vernay's to be more at liberty to write to Rome, and to dispatch the Abbot Charrier thither, to solicit my promotion, I received a letter from thence that informed me of the death of Pancirolló. This accident, which broke in an instant the only measures upon which it was likely that I might have depended, troubled me much, and with so much the more reason that I ought not to doubt but that the Commander de Valençai, who was our Embassador there, and who had himself great pretensions to the hat, would do against me whatever lay in his power. I resolved however upon sending the Abbot Charrier, who being arrived at Rome, met there (as the sequel will shew you) but with very few obstacles, tho' Cardinal Mazarin did his best to lay many in his way.

A thing which ought to be observed in the conversation I had with the Queen, wherein she shewed me the Cardinal's letter which I have last mentioned, is that she said not a word to me of what he had written to her in a separate billet, as I learnt of Mr. de Chateaufort the next day, about a marriage between Mademoiselle d'Orleans, who is now Dutchess of Tuscany, and the King. Her eldest \* sister had much pretended to that alliance, the Cardinal having given her hopes

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of

\* Anne-Mary-Louisa, of Orleans, Dutchess of Montpensier, Daughter to the Duke of Orleans by his first lady.



of it, so that when she saw that at the bottom he meant nothing like it, she affected to appear a Frondeuse, and even a violent one, and she expressed a warmth that is not to be conceived for the liberty of the Princes. The Duke of Orleans knew her so well, and shewed so little regard for her, that nobody hardly took any notice of the steps she took, even at the time when her quality at least should have been somewhat regarded. You must, for that reason, forgive my neglecting to give you any account of her hitherto. The Cardinal, who thought that the Duke of Orleans might more reasonably flatter himself with marrying his younger daughter to the King, as being of a more suitable age, writ the Queen word, to make all possible overtures to the Duke for that alliance, but above all things to take care that it should not be by my means. 'Because,' said the Cardinal, 'the Coadjutor would compleat that matter sooner and in a stronger manner than it is yet convenient to your Majesty.' Mr. de Chateauneuf shewed me these very words, in a billet which he swore to me to have been copied from the Cardinal's original letter. His Eminence desired the Queen to send that proposal, or rather that prospect of one, to the Duke, by Beloy; 'if however,' said the letter, 'he may still be depended on.' The Duke of Orleans has assured me since, above ten times, upon his oath, that this proposal was never made to him either directly or indirectly. These two facts contradict one another much, but what I am going to say, is no less hard to explain.

I have already told you that the Cardinal, in the letter that had been shewn me, blamed extremely those that had dissuaded the Queen from the proposal that I had made her of having the Prince of Condé arrested at the palace of Orleans. I expected for that reason that she would now come into this proposal, and that she would even press me to bring it to pass. But I was surprized to the last degree, when I found that she had not so much as bestowed a single thought upon it, and I cannot reflect upon that, without being still surprized. Le Tellier, Servien, and the Princess Palatine, whom I have since put upon that subject many times, have not appeared to know more of that matter than I, and what is still more surprizing, is, that they have all agreed that the Cardinal's letter was real and true as to that point. This confirms me in what I have already said, that there are certain points in affairs, which, by what happens even in the most natural way, cannot be perceived by the clearest-sighted people; and that we should meet, much oftener than we do, with these points in histories,

histories, if they were all written by men who had themselves been privy to the things which they relate, because they would for that reason be above the ridiculous vanity of those impertinent authors, who being born as one may say in the outer court, and having never reached further than the anti-chamber, yet pretend to know every thing that passes in the closet. I own that I cannot but wonder, upon that account at the insolence of these (in every sense) mean sort of men, who fancy that they have penetrated into the most secret recesses of the hearts of those that have had the greatest share in affairs, and that they have let no manner of events pass, of which they have not pretended to have discovered, as well the original causes, as the effects that have proceeded from them. I found one day upon the table of the Prince of Condé's closet, two or three writings of these venal and sordid souls; and the Prince observing that I had just cast my eye upon them, said to me: 'These wretches have represented both you and me, such as they would have been themselves, if they had been in our posts.' This saying of the Prince's has a great deal of sense in it.

I return to what passed at the end of the conversation I had that night with the Queen. She affected to make me promise that I would not miss going to the Parliament every time that the Prince of Condé should be there; and the Princess Palatine, whom I told the next day, that I had observed a particular application in her Majesty to press me to it, answered me in this manner: 'I know the reason of it; Servien tells her twenty times in a day that you act in concert with the Prince, and that you will find some occasions, in concert likewise with him, to excuse your going to the Parliament when the Prince is there.' But I failed not once to go to those assemblies, and my conduct was such, that it ought, by the event at least, to have shamed Servien for his wrong judgement. I shewed in the Parliament no other regard for the Prince, but what I knew would be displeasing to him. I applauded whatever he said against the Cardinal, but at the same time I omitted nothing towards discovering the reason of his acting so, and his desire of negotiating; a conduct which was of no little trouble to a party, who at the bottom had no other view than to come to an accommodation with the court, by threatening and frightening the minister. The Prince of Condé's intention was far from a civil war; and as for la Rochefoucault, who governed the Dutchess de Longueville and the Prince of Conti, he always was for negotiating. The conjuncture of affairs, obliged all of them, to make declarations.

rations and declamations in the Parliament, that might have brought their designs to pass, had they not been carefully explained and laid open by the Frondeurs, both to the court and to the publick. The Queen, who was very haughty, could put no trust in advances that were always preceded by threats. The Cardinal ceased to be frightened, when he saw the Prince's party cease to be altogether predominant in Paris. The people, who were informed of the Prince's underhand dealing, ceased to take every thing for good that his partisans endeavoured to make them believe, under the pretence of Mazarin, who was not now seen. These dispositions, and the advice which the Prince had of my conference with Lionne, with another advice given him by le Bouchet of the march of two companies of the guards, obliged him to leave the Hôtel de Condé at two in the morning upon the 6th of July, and to retire to St. Maur. It is certain that there was no other way for him to take, and that he could have staid no longer at Paris, except he had resolved at that time upon doing what he has done since, that is, except he had put himself publickly on the defensive. He chose not to do it, because he was not as yet resolved on a civil war, to which it is certain he was mortally averse. Some people have blamed his irresolution, but in my thinking the cause whence it proceeded ought rather to be commended, and I have an entire contempt for those vile souls, that have had the impudence to publish in print, that a heart as stout, and as well proved, as that of Cæsar, had been capable on that occasion of taking a false alarm. Those impertinent and ridiculous authors deserve a publick whipping.

You may well imagine what effect this had on all people's minds. Madam de Longueville, though sick, went immediately to join him; and the Prince of Conti, with messieurs de Nemours, de Bouillon, de Turenne, de la Rochefoucaut, de Richlieu, and de la Mothe, did the like. He sent Mr. de la Rochefoucaut to the Duke of Orleans, to acquaint him with his reasons for retiring. The Duke appeared surprized at it, and was really so. He expressed a feigned sorrow for it; he went to the Queen about it; and he approved of her resolution of sending the Mareschal de Grammont to St. Maur, to assure the Prince that she had no design upon his person. The Duke, who thought that the Prince would not come back to Paris after the step he had taken, and who imagined for that reason that he might oblige him at a cheap rate, charged the Mareschal de Grammont with all the assurances which he was able to give him in particular. This example,



example, and what followed after, will shew you, that *there is always an inconveniency in engaging oneself, upon supposal of the impossibility that certain things should happen. It is certain however that there is hardly a man that makes any difficulty of doing it.*

The Prince was no sooner got to St. Maur, but that every one of his party thought of bringing him to an accommodation with the court, which never fails to happen, when he that is at the head of affairs is known not to love faction. A wise man can indeed never love it, but wisdom ought to teach him how to hide his aversion, when he has the misfortune to find himself engaged in it. Teligni, son-in-law to the Admiral de Coligni, was saying the eve of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, *that his father-in-law had lost more in the Huguenot's party, by letting tokens of his weariness appear, than by losing the battles of Montcontour and of St. Dennis.* This may therefore be reckoned the first blow which the Prince's party received, and a blow so much the more dangerous, as it could never wound a body more mortally than by falling on the head of it. Mr. de la Rochefoucault, one of the most considerable members of that body, by his absolute power over the Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville, was in a faction, what Mr. de Bouillon had formerly been in the finances. The Cardinal used to say of this last, that he passed twelve hours of the day in creating new offices, and the twelve others in suppressing them; which remark Matha applied to Mr. de la Rochefoucault, by saying that he made every morning some faction, and that every evening he tried how to set matters to rights again. Mr. de Bouillon, who was in no manner pleased either with the Prince or with the court, did not help to fix the resolutions of the party, because the difficulty of keeping fair with both sides, confounded at noon the views he had had two hours before, either for or against an accommodation. Mr. de Turenne, who was not better pleased with either side than his brother, was not near so decisive in state affairs, as in war. Mr. de Nemours, who was in love with Madam de Châtillon, found in his fears of parting from her an obstacle to action, which the vivacity of his age, rather than any regard to his honour, might otherwise have put him upon. Chavigny, who was come again into the management of affairs, which was his only element, and who was come in by means of the Prince, could not endure to be forsaken by him, and could much less endure that he should keep him in good intelligence with Mazarin, who was the object of his horror.

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Viole, who was a dependant on Chavigny, joined to his friend's sentiments, which were always wavering, his own timorousness, which was very great, and his avidity for gain, which was not less. Croissi, whose temper was naturally violent, was suspended between carrying matters to extremes to which his inclination led him, and keeping within the bounds of moderation, which the measures he had always carefully preserved with Mr. de Chateaufneuf demanded of him, at least outwardly. Madam de Longueville was sometimes for an accommodation, because la Rochefoucault desired it, at other times she was for a rupture, because it kept her from her husband, whom she had never loved, but whom she had begun some time since to fear. This constitution of the minds of persons, whom the Prince had to do with, might have puzzled Sertorius; judge then what effect it produced upon the mind of a Prince of the blood, covered with innocent laurels, who looked upon being chief of a party, only as a misfortune, and even a misfortune beneath him. One of his chiefest troubles, as he has since told me, was to defend himself against suspicions, which in the beginning of affairs are more natural still and more numerous, than in their progress. Things at that time being yet undetermined and without a form, the imagination is at liberty to extend itself to whatever is possible, and to stick wherever it pleases. The Chief is answerable beforehand for every thing that may (according to every one's suspicion) come into his head. This prevented the Prince from giving the Marechal de Grammont a private audience, though he had always loved him very well. He contented himself with telling him, in the presence of all the persons of quality that were with him, that he could not return to court, so long as Cardinal Mazarin's creatures should hold there the first places. All those that were in the interest of the Prince, and who for the most part wished for an accommodation, found their account in this answer, which by frightening the subaltern ministers would render them more supple to the several pretensions of every one. Chavigny, who went and came from St. Maur to Paris, and from Paris to St. Maur, had advised the Prince to answer in that manner, which he made a merit of to the Queen, as she herself has told me, because the first marks of resentment which this new discontent of the Prince's had produced, were rather directed against le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, than against the Cardinal himself. This effect however of the Prince's resentment against the three subministers, served well enough Chavigny's purpose, which was, to remove

move from near the Queen, those whose real ministry darkened his, that was but imaginary. This view, which was certainly more subtle than judicious, charmed him to a degree that he spoke of it to Bagnols the day that the Prince expressed his resentment against the ministers, as of the wisest and most refined project that his age had seen. 'It amuses,' said he, 'the Cardinal, by making him believe that his enemies are taking a wrong course, and that instead of pressing the declaration against him, which is not yet passed, they think it enough to exclaim against his friends; it removes from the cabinet-council the only persons to whom the Queen might open herself, and it leaves persons there, to whom, for want of others, she must of necessity communicate all her thoughts; and it obliges the Frondeurs, either to pass for Mazarinians by their sparing Mazarin's creatures, or to oblige the Queen to fall out with them by their speaking against her.' This way of reasoning, which Bagnols reported to me a quarter of an hour after, appeared to me as solid, in respect to the last article, as it appeared frivolous in respect to the others. I applied myself carefully to remedy the evil, and you will see by the sequel that I did it with success.

I have already told you that the Prince retired to St. Maur upon the sixth of July 1651. The Prince of Conti came the seventh to the Parliament, and brought thither the reasons which had obliged the Prince of Condé to retire. He mentioned only in general terms, the advices which he received from all parts of the designs of the court against his person. He afterwards declared that the Prince his brother could find no manner of safety at court so long as le Tellier, Servien and Lionne, were not removed. He made great complaints of the attempt which the Cardinal had made to render himself master of Brissac and of Sedan, and he concluded by telling the company that the Prince his brother had sent to them a gentleman with a letter. The first President answered the Prince of Conti, that the Prince had done much better to have come himself to take his seat in the Parliament. The gentleman was called in, and he delivered the letter, which contained no more than what the Prince of Conti had said. After this the first President acquainted the company, that the Queen had sent to him by five in the morning, to inform him of that letter of the Prince's, and to command him to tell the company that her Majesty desired that they would not come to any deliberation till she had made her will known to them.

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The Duke of Orleans added, that he was obliged in conscience to declare that the Queen had had no thought of causing the Prince to be arrested; that the guards that had passed through the Fauxbourg St Germain, were intended only to prevent a design that was formed of carrying away some wines without paying the duties. That the Queen had no manner of share in what had passed at Brissac. In short, the Duke could not have spoken otherwise than he did, if he had had the best intentions in the world for the Queen. Having taken the liberty to ask him, after the sitting was over, whether he had been in no apprehension of the company's requiring of him some guaranty for the safety of the Prince, of which he had given such positive assurances, he answered me with a very embarrassed air, 'Come to the palace of Orleans, and I will give you my reasons.' It is certain that by speaking as he did, he had exposed himself to that inconveniency, which was no small one; and that the first President, who then served the court very sincerely, prevented it with a great deal of art, by putting the change upon Machaut, who was about mentioning that guaranty, and by addressing himself to the Duke, whom he only desired to remove the Prince's fears, and to do his best to oblige him to come back to court. He affected likewise to let the time of the sitting slip away, so that the assembly was put off to the next day, after resolving first that in the mean time the Prince's letter should be carried to the Queen. I now come to what the Duke told me when I was with him at his palace.

He carried me into his library, he bolted the door, and flinging his hat with some emotion upon a table, he began to swear and say, 'You are a great dupe, or I a great fool: do you believe or no that the Queen desires that the Prince should return to court.' 'Yes, Sir,' answered I without the least hesitation, 'provided he comes in such a condition that he must either suffer himself to be taken up, or knocked on the head.' 'No,' replied he, 'she desires his return at any rate; do but ask your friend the Viscount d'Autel what he this day told me in her name, as I was entering into the Grand Chamber.' The Viscount had told him, that the Marechal du Plessis Praslin his brother, had received an order from the Queen by six in the morning, to desire the Duke in her name, that he would assure the Parliament that the Prince of Condé should run no manner of risk if he was pleased to return to court. 'I have not been so far as that,' said the Duke, 'for I have a thousand reasons not to pass my word for the Queen, and neither she nor the Prince have  
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'done any thing to oblige me to it; but, however,' continued he, 'you see that I could not have said less than I have done, and you see besides what pleasure there is in meddling with affairs between such persons. The Queen was saying but two days ago, that either the Prince or she must quit the town, and to-day she will have me bring him back to town, and engage my word and honour with the Parliament for his safety. The Prince left Paris yesterday morning to prevent his being arrested, and by the turn this affair takes, I will lay a wager that he will be in town again before it be two days. I am resolved to go to Blois, and to laugh at them all.'

Knowing the Duke as I did, and being informed besides that Vallois who belonged to him, but who was in the interest of the Prince, had said the day before, that they thought themselves at St. Maur very sure of the Duke of Orleans, I made no doubt but that the Duke's anger proceeded from the trouble of his mind, and that this trouble was the effect of his advances to the Prince, which he had made because he thought they would signify nothing, being persuaded that he would come to court no more. But when he saw that the Queen, instead of pushing of him, offered him sureties in case he would return to Paris, and when this conduct had persuaded him that she might be brought to yield to the proposal of adding to the removal of the Cardinal, that of Lionne, Servien and le Tellier, he fell into a fright; he then thought that the Prince would quickly come back to Paris, and would make use of that yielding of the Queen, not with a design to fall really upon the ministers, but to make his court by reconciling himself to her, and to buy his private advantages at the price of his complaisance in suffering her to recall them. The Duke thought, upon this ground, that he could not shew too great a regard for the Queen who had the day before reproached him with the measures he kept with the Prince, 'after what he has done,' said she to him, 'that is to come to your knowledge, besides what I have not yet told you.' You must observe, that she has never explained herself more clearly about this, which makes me believe that it was nothing. I have already said, that the Marechal de Grammont was sent to the Prince upon the seventh of July, which was the afternoon of the same day that what I have related passed at the Parliament. It had been agreed before by the Queen that the Marechal should go, and at his going the Duke had charged him with all the fine words and all the promises possible in relation to the safety of the Prince. So that

that his Royal Highness thought that having done, on the one hand, what the Queen had desired, and entering on the other into all possible engagements with the Prince, in relation to his safety, he might now reckon himself sure on both sides. This is exactly the rock on which all fearful souls split. *Fear, which always magnifies objects, gives a body to all their fancies, which takes for its form whatever they conceive to exist in their enemies thoughts; so that fearful persons seldom fail to fall into real inconveniencies, occasioned by imaginary dangers.*

The Duke, on the evening of the sixth of July, perceived dispositions in the Queen to come to an accommodation with the Prince, notwithstanding what she said to the contrary, and he could not be ignorant that the Prince's inclination led him to an accommodation with the Queen. His fear makes him believe that these dispositions will produce their effect so soon as upon the eighth, and upon that ground, which was false, he enters on the seventh into engagements, which he ought not reasonably to have done, but upon the supposition that the accommodation was made so soon as upon the fifth. I made him own it himself, by making use of this dilemma: 'You are afraid of the Prince's coming back to court, because he will be the master there: do you take a good way to prevent his coming back, when you are opening him all manner of doors, and engaging your word for his being safe? Or are you willing that he should come back, that you may destroy him with the greater ease? As to this last, I do not think you capable of entertaining such a thought against a Prince to whom you have engaged your word in the face of the whole Parliament and the whole kingdom. Are you willing he should come back that you may effectually procure his accommodation with the Queen? No project can be finer, if you are assured that such an accommodation will not turn against yourself, as it did not long ago. However I ought not to doubt but that your Royal Highness has taken all necessary measures for the preventing that evil.' The Duke, who had taken no measures at all, was ashamed of what I was representing to him in so strong a manner; and he said to me, 'I see the inconveniencies, but what is to be done in the state things are in? They will come to an accommodation, and I shall remain by myself, as I did the last time.' 'Sir,' answered I, 'if your Royal Highness will command me to speak to the Queen in your name, in the terms which I am going to propose, I dare be answerable that you will at least see quickly into the bottom

of



‘ of your affairs.’ He left me at liberty to do what I pleased, which he was always willing to do when he found himself perplexed. He approved of what I was to say to the Queen, and of the turn I was to give to my discourse, after I had explained it to him. I then caused Gabouri to obtain leave of the Queen that I might see her that evening at the usual hour, in her little gallery. The Duke, to whom I had sent word by Jouï that the Queen had ordered me to be there at midnight, sent for me about eight to the hôtel de Chevreuse where I supped, to tell me, that he owned that he never found himself so much puzzled as he was then; that it was true that it proceeded much from his own fault, but that it was pardonable to err in an occasion where it seemed that every body was seeking only to break his measures; that the Prince had sent Croissi to him by seven in the morning to tell him things that gave him room to believe that he would not return to Paris; that Mr. de Chavigny had spoke to him at seven that evening in a manner which made him judge that he might be in town at that very moment. He added, that the Queen was a strange woman; that she had told him the day before that she was very glad that the Prince had quitted the town, and that what the Mareschal de Grammont was to tell him the next day in her name was only for form’s sake: but that she had sent the Mareschal word that morning by six, to use all possible endeavours to oblige the Prince to come back; that he had sent for me to bid me take care in what manner I should speak to the Queen: ‘Because I must tell you in a word,’ said he, ‘that seeing, as I do, that she is coming to an accommodation with the Prince, I am unwilling to break any more either with the one or with the other.’ I did my best to make the Duke comprehend that the true way to break with them both, was to follow other measures than those we had agreed on, which were, to bring the Queen to explain herself. He cavilled much upon the manner in which he had agreed to those measures, and I still perceived in this occasion, *That fear is, of all passions, that which weakens the judgment most; and that those that are possessed with it, retain easily the impressions it has made upon them, even at the time that they are opposing themselves, or rather that others are helping them to oppose, those impressions which they have received.* It is an observation which I have made three or four times in my life.

Whilst my conversation with the Duke was thus turning into a dispute, which indeed ran more upon words than upon essential things, of which it appeared to me that I had pretty well

well convinced him, the Mareschal de Grammont came in. He had that moment been with the Queen to give her an account of his journey to St. Maur, and being very much piqued at the Prince for his refusing to give him a private audience, he gave to his journey and to his negotiation an air of ridicule, which was of service to me. The Duke, who was the man in the world that loved a jest best, took a mighty pleasure in the description of the estates of the league assembled at St. Maur (for so the Mareschal called the company in whose presence he had delivered his message.) He gave us, in a very pleasant manner, their several characters; and that scene of buffoonery helped a great deal to lessen in the Duke's mind the fear he had conceived at the Prince of Condé's party.

Just at the time that the Mareschal de Grammont left the Duke, I received a billet from the Princess Palatine, which was of no less use to me with the Duke to let him see that their measures at the Palais-Royal were not yet so sure as to be a ground for the building any thing certain upon. The billet contained these words:

'I desire that I may see you at your coming from the Queen, for it is necessary that I should speak with you. I have this day been at St. Maur, where they are in doubt of their power; and I come from the Palais-Royal, where they are still in greater doubt of their intention.'

I explained these words to the Duke in the manner that suited me best. I told him, that they meant that the Queen was just in the same state that she was before; and I assured him, that provided he altered nothing in the order he had given me to negotiate in his name with her, I would bring him back an answer that would put him out of the pain in which I saw him. He promised it me, but with restrictions, which fear never fails to produce in abundance.

I went to the Queen, to whom I said, that I was ordered by the Duke again to assure her of what he had himself protested to her the day before in relation to the Prince's leaving Paris, which was, that far from being made privy to it, he disapproved of it and condemned it to the last degree; that he would not come into the least measures that were against his Majesty's service or her own; that Cardinal Mazarin being removed, he would in no manner favour the pretences upon which some were willing to ground their jealousies about his return, because he was truly persuaded that she had no such design in her thoughts; that the Prince of Condé was continually infusing these jealousies of the Cardinal's return into

people's

people's minds, in order to incense them, whilst the Duke was wholly bent upon softning and appeasing them: that the only means to succeed in it was to speak of the Cardinal's return as of a thing impossible, because that so long as it should be made appear that it was feared as a thing near at hand, that would keep up the distrust and heat, not only of the people, but even of the Parliament. I began my deputation to the Queen with this preamble, which to tell you the truth was not very necessary; after which I stopped, to try whether I could discover by her manner of receiving a discourse, the subject of which was very disagreeable to her, if an advice which was given me when I left the Duke, was well grounded. Vallois, who belonged to him, assured me as I was going into my coach, that he had heard Chavigny whisper to Goulas that the Queen was grown so haughty since noon, that it made him fear that she had some secret and under-hand negotiations with the Prince. I perceived no appearance of it either in her air or in her discourse. She hearkened to all that I said to her, very peaceably and without being any way moved, so that I was obliged to come sooner than I had thought to the true subject on which I was sent, which was to beg of her that she would explain herself once for all about the manner in which her Majesty was pleased that his Royal Highness should behave himself in respect to the Prince. I told her that it was still more for her service than for the Duke's interest, in this conjuncture, to open herself fully and entirely, because the least steps that were not concerted, might give the Prince advantages so much the more dangerous, in that they would occasion distrust in the minds of people at a time when confidence in each other was what might be looked upon as almost the only necessary thing. The Queen stopped me at these words, and said to me with an air that appeared very natural and even kind: 'In what have I been wanting? Does the Duke complain of me since yesterday?' 'No, Madam,' answered I, 'but your Majesty told him yesterday at noon that you were very glad that the Prince had left Paris, and you have sent the Duke word this morning by the Viscount d'Autel, that he could not serve your Majesty more effectually than by obliging the Prince to come back.' 'Hear me speak,' replied the Queen of a sudden and without any hesitation, 'and if I am in the wrong, I consent that you should tell it me freely. I agreed yesterday at noon with the Duke that we should send only for form's sake Mr. de Grammont to the Prince, and that we should even hide our true intent from the gentleman we sent, because, as you know, he can-

not



not keep a secret. And at twelve at night I am informed that the Duke sent Goulas at nine to Chavigny, to order him to give in his name the most positive and particular promise to the Prince, of his friendship and of an union with him. I am informed at the same time that the Duke has told the President de Nesmond, that he would do wonders in the Parliament for the Prince his Cousin. Can I do less, considering the emotion in which I see every body for the Prince's retiring from court, than to take some measures to defend myself, even in respect to the Duke, and to the reproaches which he is capable of making to me, perhaps by to-morrow? I do not charge you with the Duke's conduct. I know that you are not concerned in the correspondence, which is carried on by the means of Goulas and of Chavigny. But as I think that you cannot prevent it, I think likewise that you ought not to be surprized that I should at least use some precaution. Besides I must own to you, added the Queen, that I find myself at a loss. The Cardinal is at a hundred leagues distance from me; every body speaks in relation to this affair, after their own manner. Lionne is a traitor; Servien would have me leave Paris to-morrow, or do to-day whatever the Prince pleases, \* (*to your honour and praise be it spoken.*) Le Tellier has no will but mine; the Marechal de Villeroy expects the Cardinal's decisions; and whilst the Prince is holding me fast by the throat, I see the Duke, who, for a refreshment to me, says that 'tis my fault, and who will complain of me because he abandons me.

I was I confess moved with this discourse of the Queen's, which came from her heart. Her Majesty observed it, and took it kindly of me. She then commanded me to tell her freely what my thoughts were upon the present state of affairs. I will set down here the very words which I spoke, transcribed from what I wrote down as soon as I was at home.

If your Majesty can resolve upon ceasing altogether to think of the Cardinal's return, you are able to do without exception whatever you please, because all the trouble to which your Majesty is exposed, proceeds only from the persuasion that people are in, that you think of nothing else but of that return. The Prince is persuaded that he can obtain

\* I take these words to be a kind of reproach to the Coadjutor, for performing only in part what he had promised the Queen in relation to the Prince of Condé.

tain every thing from your Majesty, by keeping you in the hopes of it. The Duke, who thinks that the Prince is not mistaken in those views, keeps at all events some measures with him. The Parliament, to whom that object is presented every morning, will abate nothing of their heat, and the people are increasing theirs. The Cardinal is at Breull, and his name does your Majesty and the state as much harm as his person might do if he was still at the Palais-royal.' 'It is but a pretence,' said the Queen, interrupting me in a kind of passion: 'Don't I send assurances every day to the Parliament that he is removed for good and all, and without any hopes of returning?' 'Yes, Madam,' replied I, 'but I most humbly beg leave to acquaint your Majesty that nothing of what is said or done contrary to your publick declarations is kept secret, and that a quarter of an hour after the Cardinal had broke Servien and Lionne's treaty, concerning the government of Provence, every body was equally informed that the first article was that he should be restored to his former post. The Prince has not confessed to the Duke that he had consented to it, but he has owned that your Majesty had caused it to be proposed to him as a necessary condition, and 'tis what he publickly says to every body that will hear it.' 'No more of that,' said the Queen; 'tis needless to dispute upon that point: I can do no more in it than what I have done. People will believe it, let me say what I please; and we are therefore to act upon what they will believe.' 'In that case, Madam,' answered I, 'I am persuaded that there are more predictions to make than councils to give.' 'Tell your predictions,' replied the Queen, 'but take care that they be not such as those of the barricadoes. In good earnest,' added she, 'tell me honestly your thoughts about all this. You are in effect already a Cardinal, and you would act like an ill man if you wished to see the state overturned. I confess I am at a loss; I have none but traitors and cowards about me: speak your sentiments with all manner of freedom.' 'I will do it, Madam,' answered I, 'tho' with some reluctance, because I know how tender your Majesty is in what touches the Cardinal; but I cannot help telling you once more, that if your Majesty can this day resolve upon rejecting all thoughts of the Cardinal's return, you will be to-morrow more absolute than in the first days of your regency, and that if you persist in your desire of restoring him, you hazard the state.' 'Why so,' said she, 'if the Duke and the Prince would consent to it?' 'Because, Madam,' replied I, 'the Duke will not consent to

‘ to it, till the state is hazarded, nor the Prince, but with a view to hazard it.’ I then explained to her the particulars of all that was to be feared; I enlarged upon the impossibility of separating \* the Duke of Orleans from the Parliament, and of bringing the Parliament to agree to that point, by any other means than by using force, which would endanger the crown. I set before her eyes the immense pretensions of the Prince and of Messieurs de Bouillon, and de la Rochefoucaut. I convinced her that it was in her power to dissipate whenever she pleased, by one single word, provided it came from her heart, all those clouds that appeared so thick and so black. And when I perceived that she was moved at what I said, and that she seemed especially pleased at what I was mentioning about the restoring her authority. I thought that it would not be amiss to take hold of that instant to let her see the sincerity of my intentions. ‘ Would to God, Madam,’ added I, ‘ that your Majesty were willing to restore your authority, at my cost! You are told at every hour of the day that I think of being prime minister, and the Cardinal has used himself to say, speaking of me, *He aims at my place*. Is it possible, Madam, that I can be thought so impertinent as to imagine any likelihood of becoming a minister by faction? or can it be believed that I have so little knowledge of your Majesty’s firmness, as to fancy that I can conquer your favour by force of arms? but a thing which is but too true, is, that what is ridiculously said of the place of Minister, is actually done, in respect to the several pretensions that others have. The Prince has lately had the government of Guienne; he would have that of Blaye for Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, and that of Provence for the Prince of Conti; Mr. de Bouillon would have Sedan restored to him; Mr. de Turenne would command in Germany; Mr. de Nemours would have the government of Auvergne; Viole would be Secretary of State; Chavigny would remain in his post; and I ask, Madam, for the Cardinal’s hat. If your Majesty is willing to laugh at all our pretensions, and to grant nothing but what is perfectly agreeable to your interest and to your pleasure; do but send back in good earnest the Cardinal into Italy; do but break all the private correspondence that is kept with him; be but sincere in removing from people’s minds all manner of thoughts about his return, of which there are such fears remaining, which even encrease every

\* *The French says the Prince, but it is pretty visible that it should have been the Duke of Orleans.*



every day; and let your Majesty afterwards declare, that having condescended to give to the publick the satisfaction of removing the Cardinal, which they have desired, you think that your dignity requires that you should refuse to particular persons the graces which they have asked or pretended to, under that pretext. Nobody will be a greater loser than I, Madam, by this conduct, which will revoke my nomination, in a manner which will please every one, but certainly none without exception more than me, because I think it necessary to me, for reasons only which will cease as soon as your Majesty has restored things to the order they should be in.' 'Have I not done every thing which you propose,' replied the Queen: 'Have I not assured many times the Duke, the Prince, and the Parliament, that the Cardinal should never return? Have any of you, and in particular you that speak to me, laid down your pretensions for all that?' 'No, Madam,' said I, 'nobody has laid down his pretensions, because every one knows that the Cardinal governs more than ever. Your Majesty has done me the honour not to hide yourself from me upon that account; but those to whom you do not tell it, know perhaps still more than I, and that is the thing that spoils all, Madam, because every one thinks he has a right to defend himself from what he believes the more unlawful, because your Majesty disowns it publickly.' 'But do you really believe,' said the Queen, 'that the Duke would abandon the Prince, if he was sure that the Cardinal would not return?' 'Can you question it, Madam,' answered I, 'after what you have seen these last days? he would have arrested the Prince in his palace, if you had pleased, tho' he does not think it at all sure that the Cardinal is not to return.' The Queen mused a little upon my answer, and then of a sudden, and even with precipitation, as if she had been impatient to finish that discourse, she said; 'The expelling the King's Minister against his will, is a fine way to restore the royal authority!' she gave me no time to reply, and she went on, commanding me to tell her my opinion upon the state in which things were: 'For,' added she, 'I can do no more upon this point than what I have already done, and am still doing.' I perceived very well that she was unwilling to explain herself more clearly. I would not therefore insist directly upon that subject; but I did it in effect by obeying her command, which was to give her my thoughts upon the present state of affairs; in order to which I reassumed my discourse in this manner. 'To comply, Madam, with your

Majesty's command, I must come again to the predictions  
 which I have before taken the liberty to touch upon. If  
 things continue as they are, the Duke will be in perpetual  
 distrust of the Prince's reconciling himself to your Majesty,  
 by recalling the Cardinal, and upon that ground he will  
 think himself obliged to continue his regard for him, and to  
 keep the Parliament and the people united to him. The  
 Prince will either unite with the Duke to assure himself  
 against the Cardinal's return, if he does not find his ac-  
 count in it, or he will be content to share the kingdom, for  
 suffering it, till he finds his better account in expelling him  
 again. Private persons that are of any consideration will  
 think upon nothing else but upon gaining some advantages  
 from it. There will be a thousand subdivisions, both in the  
 court, and among the several parties. This will be, Ma-  
 dam, sufficient matter for a civil war, which being added  
 to a foreign war as considerable as that in which we are en-  
 gaged, may bring the state upon the brink of ruin.' 'If  
 the Duke was but willing,' said the Queen - - - - -  
 'That he never will, Madam,' answered I; 'they deceive  
 your Majesty who put you in hopes of it, and I should  
 undo myself with him, should I but propose it. The Duke  
 fears the Prince, and does not love him; he can no longer  
 confide in the Cardinal. There will be moments wherein  
 he will discover some foible in favour of the one or of the  
 other, according to what he may fear from them; but he  
 will never quit the shadow of the publick, so long as that  
 publick makes a body, which it will continue to do for a  
 long time, having a subject in hand upon which your Ma-  
 jesty is yourself obliged to inflame it by some new decla-  
 rations.'

I was convinced at this instant still more than I had yet  
 been, that it is impossible for the court to have a right notion  
 of the publick. Flattery, the plague of courts, infects them  
 always to such a degree, as to bring them into a delirium past  
 remedy upon that article; and I observed that the Queen was  
 treating in her own imagination all that I was saying of the  
 publick, as chimæras, with the same haughtiness as if she had  
 never had occasion to reflect upon the barricadoes. This made  
 me slip over that matter more lightly than it deserved; the  
 Queen, besides, leaving me no room to enlarge upon it, be-  
 cause she put me again upon the discourse of the Prince's  
 manner of acting, asking me what I thought of his proposal  
 for the removing le Tellier, Lionne and Servien. As I was  
 willing to discover as much as I could whether that proposal

was

was not a step towards some under-hand negotiations, I smiled at what the Queen said, seasoning my respect with an air of mystery. The Queen, whose wit consisted all in these kind of airs, understood my meaning, and said: 'No, there is nothing in it but what you see as well as I, and what every body sees. The Prince would willingly have got from me wherewithal to expel a dozen ministers, for the hopes of leaving me one whom he would perhaps have taken from me the next day. I have not given into that trap, and he is laying another. He will take from me the ministers I have left, that is, he proposes to take them from me; for if I will yield him Provence, he will condescend to leave me le Tellier, and perhaps I may obtain Servien for Languedoc. What says the Duke to all this?' 'He is making predictions, Madam,' answered I; 'for as I have said to your Majesty, what can one say in the state in which things are?' 'But, in short,' replied the Queen, 'what says he?' 'Will he not still join with the Prince to force me to take that fine step?' 'I have reason not to believe it, Madam,' said I, 'when I remember what he has told me this day about it; but I do not doubt it, when I consider that he will be forced to it perhaps by to-morrow.' 'And you,' said the Queen to me, 'what will you do?' 'I will declare myself in the Parliament,' replied I, 'and even in the pulpit, against the proposal, if your Majesty resolves upon using the sole and sovereign remedy; and in all likelihood I shall do like the others, if you leave things in the state they are in.'

The Queen, who had hitherto contained herself very much, grew angry at this, and raising her voice, told me, 'That I had then asked for that audience on purpose only to declare war to her face.' 'I am very far, Madam,' answered I, 'from that insolence, and from that folly, since I have begged your Majesty's leave to have the honour of speaking to you this day, only to know in the Duke's name, what you will have him do to prevent the insolence with which the Prince threatens you. I was telling your Majesty not long since that it is a great misfortune to be fallen into times, when an honest man is obliged, even out of a principle of duty, to be wanting to the respect he owes to his master. I know, Madam, that I am wanting to that respect, when I speak in the manner I do in relation to the Cardinal, but I know at the same time, that I speak and act as a good subject, and that those that do otherwise are double-dealers, who please, but who betray their conscience and their duty.'



‘ Your Majesty has commanded me to speak my thoughts  
 ‘ with liberty, and I obey you. Do but bid me hold my  
 ‘ tongue and you will be convinced of my submission, and  
 ‘ that I shall content myself with reporting exactly to the  
 ‘ Duke what you do me the honour to give me in charge.’

The Queen came to herself of a sudden, commanding me to speak my thoughts, and to explain them thoroughly to her. I followed her order exactly; I represented to her as naturally as ever I could, the condition to which affairs were brought; I made an end of designing what I had but begun to give her a rough draught of; I told her the whole truth with the same exactness and sincerity, as if I had been to give an account of it to God a quarter of an hour after. The Queen was touched with what I said, and she told the Princess Palatine the next day, that what I said came from my heart, but that I was blinded by my prevention. What appeared to me, was, that she was very much prepossessed herself by her attachment to the Cardinal, and that her inclination got always the better of a sort of faint willingness which I saw sometimes in her, for entering into the overtures which I made to her for the restoring the royal authority, at the cost of the Mazarinians, and of the Frondeurs. I observed that at the end of the conversation she took pleasure in making me speak upon that subject, and when she saw that I really did it with sincerity and a good intent, she expressed her thankfulness to me for it.

I should be afraid to tire you, if I enlarged more upon a detail which is already but too long, and I will content myself with telling you, that the result was, that I should use my best endeavours to oblige the Duke not to join with the Prince in demanding the removal of messieurs le Tellier, Servien and Lionne, upon my promising him in the Queen’s name that she would not come to any accommodation with the Prince, without the Duke’s participation and consent. It was with much pain that I could get that promise from her, and the difficulty which I found in it confirmed me in the opinion I was in before, that the appearances of an accommodation betwixt the court and the Prince were not altogether vanished. I believed it still much more when I found it impossible for me to oblige the Queen to explain her intentions upon the conduct which the Duke was to observe, either to procure the Prince’s return, or to traverse it. She affected to tell me that she had not changed her mind in regard to that, since what she had said to the Duke himself; but I clearly perceived, by her actions, and even by some words, that she had altered her  
 mind

mind more than three times, since I was with her in the gallery, and I remembered what the Princess Palatine had wrote to me, that they were in suspense at the Palais-Royal about what they would do. I thought fit however to insist and to press the Queen, because I had reason to judge that the Duke, who was very clear-sighted, receiving from me but a general and loose promise (which he would give no great credit to, mistrusting as he did very much the Queen's intentions in respect to him) would certainly, and with a great deal of reason, mind entirely and only the light I brought him touching the Queen's true design. I made therefore no doubt but that from this consideration, he would still make some new advances towards the Prince, which I thought would not be at all for his, nor for the King's interest. I spoke to the Queen upon it with vigour, without obtaining any thing, which was indeed a thing impossible, because she was herself still undetermined. I will explain you this presently more at large.

It was almost day when I came away from the Palais-Royal, so that I had not time to go to the Princess Palatine, who wrote a billet to me at six that morning, to let me know that she staid for me in a hackney-coach before the hospital of the incurables. I went thither immediately in a plain coach. She explained to me her billet of the evening before; she told me that the Prince had appeared to her very stout, but that she had plainly discovered by Madam de Longueville's discourse that he mistook his own strength, by believing his enemies much better united than indeed they were; that the Queen knew not what to do; that she was sometimes for the return of the Prince, on what conditions soever; that at others she thanked God for his having left Paris; that this variation came from the different counsels she received; that Servien told her that the state was undone if the Prince came not back; that le Tellier stood wavering; that the Abbot Fouquet, who was newly come from Breull, assured her that the Cardinal would be vexed to the last degree if she did not take hold of this occasion, which the Prince himself had given her, to push him; that the eldest Fouquet affirmed that he knew for certain that the contrary was true; and that all would go on in this manner, till an order from Breull had decided the matter. The Princess Palatine was persuaded above all that there were secret proposals, which helped to keep the Queen thus uncertain. This is what the Princess Palatine told me with great haste, because it was high time to go to the Parliament, the Duke having already sent twice for me. I found him just ready to go; I gave him in very few words

words an account of my commission, by setting the fact only before his eyes. He immediately drew from it what I had foretold the Queen; and as soon as he saw that the promise I brought him from her was neither preceded by, nor followed with, any concerted measures to act together in the present occasion, he began to whistle; and he said to me: 'This is a good drug indeed! come, come, let's go to the Parliament.' 'However, Sir,' replied I, 'it seems necessary to me that your Royal Highness should resolve upon what you are to say when you are there.' 'Who the devil,' said he, 'can forejudge? There's neither rhyme nor reason with these people. Let's go, I say, and when we are in the grand-chamber, we shall perhaps find that to-day is not Saturday.' It was Saturday however, and the 8th of July 1651.

As soon as the Duke had taken his seat, Talon, Advocate-General, came in with his colleagues, and he told the company that he had carried to the Queen the day before, the Prince's letter to the Parliament; that the Queen had been very well pleased with the company's conduct, and that the Lord Chancellor had put a writing into the Attorney-General's hands, whereby the company would be informed of the King's pleasure. The purport of that writing was, that the Queen was extremely surprized that the Prince could call into question the assurances which she had so often given that she had no manner of design against his person; that she did not wonder at the distrust he expressed in relation to the Cardinal's return; that she declared that she would religiously observe the word she had given the Parliament upon that ac-



narrow mind, and amusing even the most reasonable, the whole morning was spent properly about nothing, and the assembly of the chambers was put off to the Monday following. There was a great deal of heat in this sitting between the Prince of Conti and the first President. This last, who, in his particular, was not at all pleased with the Prince of Condé, whom he thought that he had obliged (though in my opinion, without ground) to more gratitude than he had expressed; this last, I say, spoke with vigour against the Prince's retreat to St. Maur, which he even called a sad prelude to a civil war. He added two or three words which seemed to relate to the late commotions, of which the Prince of Condé had been the author. The Prince of Conti took him up, and even threatened him by saying, that in any other place he would have taught him to keep to the respect which is due to the Princes of the blood. The first President replied boldly, that he feared nothing, and that he had reason himself to complain, that any one durst interrupt him in his seat, where he represented the King's person. Members rose up on both sides. The Duke, who was very glad to see them quarrelling with one another, meddled with the thing but just when he could not help doing it, telling the company at last that every one ought to apply himself to quiet this matter. The Duke being come back to his Palace, carried me into his library, bolted the door of it himself, flung his hat upon the table, and then told me with a great deal of emotion, that he had not had time before his going to the Parliament, to acquaint me with a thing that would surprize me, though it ought not to do it; and that he knew since midnight that the old Pantaloon (so

had taken it up, and had carried it to the Duke. His Royal Highness staid not till I had made an end of reading it, before he spoke. 'Was I in the wrong,' said he, 'to tell you this morning that one is at a loss with these men? 'Tis a common saying that there's no reliance upon the people. They lie that say so; there is a thousand times more solidity in the people than in the ministers; I will go and lodge in the market-place.' 'You really believe then Sir,' said I, 'that the accommodation is made.' No,' answered he, 'not so neither.' 'As for me, Sir,' replied I, 'I should be persuaded that it can't be brought about by this means, if I durst be of another opinion than your Royal Highness.'

This matter was debated with some heat. I justified what I had said, by the impossibility which appeared to me in the success of this negotiation, because by a very odd chance, it was managed by persons who had all of them in an eminent degree, at least in this case, which was of itself so full of difficulties, all the qualities that were the most likely to break the easiest accommodation. The Duke persisted in his opinion, because his natural weakness made him always look upon what he feared, as infallible and even near. 'Twas my duty to yield, as you may well judge, and to receive the order which he gave me, to desire the Princess Palatine to tell the Queen that very afternoon, that he was of opinion, that her Majesty ought by all means to come to an accommodation with the Prince, and that the Parliament and the people were so much inflamed at every thing that had the least tincture of Mazarinianism, that nothing now was to be thought on but to applaud the Prince; who, added he even with some sharpness, has been artful enough to prevent us in renewing the skirmish against the Sicilian.

I represented to him in vain, that even supposing as sure, that he thought very near, and what I should think very remote, durst I contradict him; the way he took was attended with terrible inconveniencies, and chiefly with that of precipitating the Queen into a thing which he feared, and even of obliging her to take still greater precautions against the Duke's resentment. He thought that my reasons were nothing else but pretences to cover the true cause that made me contradict him, which he fancied he had found in the fear he thought I had that he should himself come to an accommodation with the Prince. Hereupon he told me that he would act so cautiously with those at St. Maur, that I ought not to fear his falling into the inconveniencies which I had mentioned, and that

that if the Queen had got the start of him once, he would find means to get it of her again. 'I am not such a fool as she imagines,' added he, 'and I think more on your interest than you do yourself.' I confess that I did not at first understand what these words meant; but he gave me room to guess, by adding: 'Hath the Prince, though exasperated against you, mentioned your name in his letter to the Parliament?' I fancied that the Duke was willing to set off that silence to me, and to shew it me as a sign of the regard which the Prince had for me upon his account, and of the precaution which he (the Duke) designed to use on this occasion, in case of need. I judged by this discourse, and by many others, which had preceded, and which followed it, that his belief of an accommodation between the Queen and the Prince, either as already made, or as upon the point of being made, was the reason which had obliged him to command me to speak to the Princess Palatine, that she would press the Queen in his name to hasten the accommodation, and to assure her Majesty that he should not think himself at all disobliged by it; imagining thereby to gain some merit with the Prince by his giving her this counsel. I was altogether confirmed in my opinion by a conversation of above an hour long, which the Duke had (a moment after I had left him) with Charai, who was, as I have already said, particularly attached to the Prince, though belonging to the Duke. I opposed as much as I could the Duke's sentiments, which were in reality rather the mistakes of fear than the result of reason. I could gain nothing upon him, and I experienced in this occasion what I have observed since in some others; that *Fear, when it is flattered by cunning, is not to be overcome.*

You will easily judge that I was cruelly embarrassed when I left the Duke. The Princess Palatine was not much less so than I, at my message, and at the compliment which I desired her to make to the Queen in the Duke's name. She came however to herself sooner and more easily than I, when she looked upon the constitution of affairs, 'which,' said she with a great deal of good sense, 'will set men right, when on the contrary, men are commonly those that set affairs right.' Madam de Beauvais had that moment sent word to the Princess Palatine, that Metayer, Valet de Chambre to the Cardinal, was just arrived from Breull, and that gave her occasion to add, that perhaps that man had brought enough with him to change in an instant the whole face of things.



things. She was saying this at a venture, and thinking only that the Cardinal would never approve of any thing that went through the hands of Chavigny. What she had said proved a prophecy, for it happened that the messenger had brought anathemas, rather than letters against the proposals that had been made; and though the Cardinal was the man in the world that could always the best dissemble a liking for what he really disliked, he had not on this occasion observed any measures that were in the least like those which he commonly used, and this we attributed, the Princess Palatine and I, to the aversion he had for the managers. He mistrusted Chateaufort very much; Chavigny was the man he feared; St. Romain was odious to him, by reason both of his present attachment to Chavigny, and for that he had had to Mr. d'Avaux at Munster. The Princess Palatine, who knew only that the messenger was come, but was ignorant what message he had brought, thought fit that I should go back to the Duke to let him know that this express might perhaps have changed the Queen's views, for which reason she thought it best for her not to execute the commission I had charged her with from him till they could be better informed.

The Duke, to whom I immediately went, was angry at this overture, which was however very prudent, and that by a prevention which he often fell into, and to which a great many others are subject. *Most people consider less the reasons of what is proposed to them against their inclination, than the motives which may have obliged the person that proposes them to make use of these reasons.* This defect is very common and very great. I clearly perceived that the Duke took what I told him in the Princess Palatine's name, for an effect only of the prejudice which he fancied that both of us had against the Prince. I insisted on the proposal, and he stood firm in refusing it, by which I was still the more convinced, that *a man that does not confide in himself, will never confide sincerely in any body.* The Duke had a greater confidence in me, beyond comparison, than in all those that ever came near him, but his confidence has never held out a quarter of an hour against his fear.

If the compliment which was to be made to the Queen in the Duke's name had been carried by a person of less address than the Princess Palatine, I had been still much more uneasy for the event. But she managed the thing with so much ability, that it served instead of hurting. 'Tis true, that fortune was a great help to her on this occasion, by bringing the messenger whom I have mentioned just in the nick of time,

time, for rectifying what the Duke had done his best to have spoiled. For the Queen, who was always submissive to the Cardinal, but who was doubly so, when what he wrote agreed with her passion, happened to be, when the Princess Palatine spoke to her, so far from any thoughts of an accommodation with that Prince, that what the Princess had said in the Duke's name, had no other effect with her but that which we could have wished, which was, to offer the Duke *carte-blanche*, and to oblige him to come to confession, if I may say so, for his wavering, and to find out excuses for it, but such as might secure things for the future. The Queen even ordered the Princess Palatine to let the Duke know by my means the particulars of the dispatch which he had received; and being extremely desirous to see me, I was commanded to be between eleven and twelve at night at the usual place. We were in no doubt, neither the Princess Palatine nor I, but that the Duke would receive with a great deal of joy the news which I was going to bring him. We both found ourselves much mistaken. For I had no sooner told him that the Queen offered him every thing without exception, provided he would on his side unite sincerely and entirely with her against the Prince, than he fell into a state which I cannot well express to you but by desiring you to remember that which it is impossible but you must sometimes have found yourself in. Have you never acted upon supposals that were displeasing to you? And is it not true however, that when you have found those supposals to be ill-grounded, you have felt within you a conflict between the joy of finding yourself deceived to your own advantage, and the regret of having acted in the manner you had done? 'Tis what has happened to me a thousand times. The Duke was glad at heart to find the Queen much farther from an accommodation than he had believed; but he was no less sorry for his advances to the Prince, which he had made in view only of that accommodation, thinking it very near made. Men in that state are commonly a pretty long while before they will believe their mistake, even after they have perceived it; because the difficulty of unstitching their own work raises in their minds objections against the doing of it, which they take to proceed from their reason, when they are only a natural effect of their own inclination. The Duke, as I have already said more than once, was timorous and lazy to a sovereign degree. I perceived at the time that I was acquainting him with this news, a mixture of gaiety and of trouble in his countenance. Such a mixture is not to be expressed, but

but methinks I see it in him to the life : and though I had known nothing of his steps towards the Prince, I might have read in his eyes that he had received some news upon his account, that afforded him both joy and sorrow. His words did not bely his countenance. He was willing to doubt of the truth of what I said, though he doubted not of it. 'Tis the first impulse of persons of his humour that finds themselves in this state. He presently passed to the second, which is, the desire that such persons have to justify themselves of the precipitation that hath plunged them into the trouble they are in. 'She takes her time well truly!' said he of a sudden : 'the Queen does things that oblige people.' - - - - He stopped at this word, being ashamed, I believe, to confess what he had done. He whirled about for some time, he whistled, he mused a moment by the chimney-side ; then he said to me : 'What the devil will you say to the Queen ? She will have me promise not to push the Sub-ministers : and how can I do it after what I have promised the Prince ?' He went on after this, and spoke perfect nonsense to justify to me the engagements he had taken with the Prince since the last twenty-four hours, and I found that this nonsense tended chiefly to make me believe that he thought he had kept nothing hid from me the day before. I did not undeceive him, and I am still persuaded that he believed he had succeeded in his design. The ground I gave him to think so, was the reason that he opened himself to me much more than he certainly would have done if he had thought that I was dissatisfied, and I got out of him all the particulars of what he had done, which were these.

As he had laid for a foundation that the Prince's accommodation with the court was either made or very near it, he took it for granted that he should run no hazard in offering him all, in a conjuncture in which he did not fear that his offers against the court would be accepted. You will see at once how frivolous that way of reasoning was. The Duke, who had a great deal of wit, discovered it fully himself, as soon as the danger, which his fear had brought before his eyes, was vanished. But as it is always easier to perceive the evil than the remedy, he was a long while seeking for one without finding it, because he looked for a remedy that might at once satisfy both sides. There are occasions when such a design is absolutely impracticable, and when that happens it becomes pernicious, because it will infallibly displease both. Such a design is not less troublesome to those that are employed in the bringing it about, because it carries always along with



with it an air of deceit. It was not therefore for want of endeavours in me that I did not dissuade the Duke from following it. I found it not in my power, and he ordered me to make the Queen consent that he should declare in the Parliament against the three Sub-ministers, in case the Prince continued to demand their removal; and at the same time he gave me leave to assure her, that if she would consent to what he proposed, he would declare against the Prince, if after this step he extended his pretensions further. As for my part, being persuaded that it was neither just nor prudent to exasperate the Queen to the degree which this proposal would probably do, I represented to the Duke with vigour, that he had a fair opportunity offered him to give a two-fold, or even a three-fold stroke; first in obliging the Queen, by suffering the Sub-ministers (who in the main were of no great importance) to remain with her: Secondly, in letting the publick know that the Prince was not content with Mazarin's removal, but was striking at the foundations of the royal authority, by not leaving the Queen-regent even the least shadow of power: and thirdly, in pleasing at the same time the publick, by a sort of aggravation against the Cardinal, which I proposed to the Duke, and to which I even took upon me to bring the Queen to consent. The Princess Palatine had told me that she had seen in a letter of the Cardinal's to the Queen, that he desired her Majesty to refuse nothing of what should be asked her against him, because he was persuaded, that after having carried matters to such an excess, if his enemies added still to that, it would bring all moderate people to be rather more favourable to him than otherwise; and because it was convenient enough for his service, that his friends should amuse the impertinents (that was his word) by suffering their railing, which after having been repeated so long was now grown insignificant. I did not take this manner of reasoning of the Cardinal's to be very right, but I made use of it as of a ground for the conduct which I had wished that the Duke would have taken; and I explained my meaning to him in the manner following. 'If his Royal Highness concurs to the removal of the Sub-ministers, it is likely that he does the Prince of Condé's work, because it will perhaps oblige the Queen to grant that Prince all that he shall ask. But he will not do his own work at court, because he will thereby exasperate the Queen more and more, and incense besides those that come near her. Neither will he do it with the publick, for, as he himself owns, the Prince has been beforehand with him, and being the first that has proposed the removal

removal of these remains of Mazarinianism, he will gain by it the flower of the reputation, which, with the people, is all in all. The inconveniency therefore of putting the Queen into a fright, of which the Prince may make use for his own advantage, is very great, and it is besides accompanied with a great loss of reputation, in exposing the Duke to act only as a second to the Prince, and in drawing him into a conduct of which the honour will turn to the account of another, and the shame upon himself, because it will be said that he ought to have given the first example of it. What advantage will he find that can compensate this inconveni-  
 ence? the only one that can be foreseen is the taking away from the Queen, persons that are thought affectionate to the Cardinal: but is that an advantage, if the Duke considers that the Fouquets, the Bertets, the Brachets will equally pass half the nights with her Majesty; that the D'Estrées, the Souverets, and the Senneterres, will every day be with her, and that these last will prove the more dangerous in being near her, because the Queen will be still the more incensed by the removal of the Sub-ministers. These considerations convince me that the Duke ought to make the Prince's panegyrick in the first assembly of the chambers, for the firmness he shews against the return of Cardinal Mazarin; to confirm all that has been said by the Prince of Conti in his brother's name, about the necessary precautions that are to be taken in relation to the recalling the Cardinal; to oppose publickly and with solid reasons, those which are proposed for removing the three Sub-ministers; to shew that it is injurious to the Queen, to whom there is enough respect and even gratitude due, for the promises which she renews on every occasion, of the total exclusion of Cardinal Mazarin, to prevent people from abusing her goodness at every instant, by proposing new conditions, to which no end can be seen; to add, that if the starting these new proposals for the cutting off the branches, had come from any body, whose zeal was at the bottom less to be relied on than that of the Prince, it might become suspicious, because the tree itself is not as yet rooted up: the declaration against the Cardinal is not as yet got ready: 'tis well known that there are still disputes about words, instead of hastening, of finishing, or rather of cementing, a work, which every body is agreed upon. The new proposals that are started, may raise scruples in the minds of persons who have the best intentions. Some who expect to render their names sacred in throwing stones on  
 Mazarin's

' Mazarin's tomb, would think that they committed a great  
 ' crime in offering the least affront to those whom the Queen  
 ' shall please for the future to employ. Nothing could serve  
 ' better to wipe off the guilt of the Cardinal, than to give  
 ' room to people to think that the example of what has passed  
 ' in respect to him, is to be daily or even frequently made  
 ' upon others. The Queen's justice and goodness have given  
 ' sanction to what we have done with pure and sincere inten-  
 ' tions for her service and for the good of the state; we ought  
 ' on our part to make her a suitable return for it, by acting in  
 ' a manner that shews that our chiefest care is to prevent,  
 ' that, what the safety of the state has put us upon doing  
 ' against Mazarin, may in no wise hurt the lawful authority  
 ' of the King. We have in this conjuncture a very re-  
 ' markable advantage. The publick declaration which the  
 ' Queen has so many times made, both to the Princes and to  
 ' the Parliament, that she excluded for ever the Cardinal  
 ' from the ministry, gives us a right, without hurting the  
 ' royal authority, which ought to be sacred to us, to seek for  
 ' all manner of sureties for supporting that promise, which  
 ' ought not to be less sacred to the Queen. 'Tis what his  
 ' Royal Highness ought to apply himself to, in a manner  
 ' answerable to his dignity, and in which he may expect to  
 ' succeed. In my opinion he ought to take care not to suffer  
 ' the change to be put upon him, and to give the like caution  
 ' to the Parliament, in persuading that company to reject  
 ' proposals, frivolous in themselves, and made on purpose to  
 ' divert them from things truly substantial. A thing which  
 ' is really so, and requires all possible haste, is, to establish the  
 ' declaration against the Cardinal, upon a right foot. The  
 ' first that was brought to the parliament contained his pane-  
 ' gyrick; that about which they are now, as we have at least  
 ' been informed, is grounded only upon the remonstrances of  
 ' that company, and upon the Queen's granting their de-  
 ' mands, leaving room thereby to future explanations. His  
 ' Royal Highness may tell the company to-morrow that the  
 ' main point on which that declaration depends is, the taking  
 ' true and solid precautions, which cannot be done in a surer  
 ' manner than by inserting in it, that the King excludes the  
 ' Cardinal from his dominions and from his councils, because  
 ' it is notoriously and undeniably true that it was he that  
 ' broke the general peace at Munster. If the Duke speaks in  
 ' that manner to-morrow, I will be answerable for the Queen  
 ' that she will to-morrow night give him her approbation.  
 ' By this means he reunites himself to the Queen at the same  
 ' time



time that he gives Mazarin a cruel stroke; he gains to himself the honour among the publick of attacking him personally and effectually, and takes it away from the Prince, in letting people see that this last affects only to attack his shadow. He gives all wise and moderate men to understand, that he will not suffer, that under the cover of Mazarin, the royal authority should daily continue to receive new wounds.

This was my advice to the Duke, and what I gave him in writing before I left him. This he carried to the Dutchesse, who was exasperated at his having engaged with the Prince; this he approved with all his heart, and yet this he durst not execute, because upon his being fully persuaded (as I have already said) that the Prince would come to an accommodation with the court, and thinking thereby to play a sure game, he had engaged to declare with him against the Sub-ministers. He confessed it to the Dutchesse still more particularly than he had done to me. All that I could gain from him was, to promise the Queen that he would do his very best with the Prince to prevent his attacking the three Subministers, and that in case he could not prevail with him, and so should be forced to speak himself against them, he would at the same time declare to the Prince that that should be the last time; and that if the Queen continued constant to her promise of not recalling the Cardinal, he would no longer divide himself from her interest. The Dutchesse, who loved le Tellier, and who was very sorry for that reason and for many more, that the Duke would go no further, made him promise that he would feign himself sick the next day, with a view of retarding the assembly of the chambers, and of gaining time thereby, to oblige him to do something more. As soon as she had gained that point, she sent the Queen word of it, acquainting her at the same time that I was doing wonders for her service. That testimony, which was very agreeably received, being carried at an instant when the Queen was very well satisfied with the Dutchesse, which was a thing uncommon to her, facilitated very much my negotiation. I went to the Queen at the hour appointed, who received me with a very open countenance, and what convinced me that she was very well satisfied with me, was, that she did not alter that countenance, not even after I had declared to her what I thought impossible to hide from her, which was, that nothing could prevent the Duke from concurring with the Prince against the Sub-ministers, and that I should be myself obliged to do the

the like, if they came to a deliberation upon it in the parliament.

You are no doubt so much fatigued with all the speeches and answers of our other conversations, that I think it best not to enter into the particulars of this, which was pretty long, and to tell you only the result, which was, that I promised the Queen in the Duke's name (which promise I was to use my utmost power to oblige him to perform faithfully) that he would do whatever he could to soften the Prince in favour of the Sub-ministers; and that in case he could not succeed, and was therefore obliged to join with the Prince against them, and I consequently, to do the like; I should declare to the Duke, that if the Prince should afterwards make any other new proposals, I would no longer come into them, though the Duke should even suffer himself to be led that away. I must confess that I stood out a long while against this last clause, because it certainly engaged me very much, and because I thought it disrespectful to the last degree, in confounding in some measure and bringing to an equality, my engagements with those of the royal family. I was however forced to agree to it. I had no great pain to bring the Duke to a liking of what I had done. He was so glad to find himself, even with the Queen's consent, free from the necessity of breaking with the Prince, that he approved with all his heart whatever had facilitated the treaty. I will tell you what followed after it, but I must first desire you to observe two circumstances of what happened in this last conversation I had with the Queen.

The first was, that in speaking to her of messieurs le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, I happened to name them the three Sub-ministers. She took up these words with some anger, saying, 'Rather say the two. Can that traitor Lionne be called by that name? He is but an Under-Secretary to the Cardinal. It is true that because he has already betrayed him twice, he may become one day Secretary of State.' The event has made this saying worthy of observation.

The second is, that when I promised the Queen to come to no accommodation with the Prince, though the Duke himself should afterwards do it, having added that I would declare it to the Duke himself the next day, she cried aloud rather than said: 'How surprizing will this be to le Tellier!' She closed up again immediately, and though I did what I could to penetrate her meaning, I could get nothing from her. I return to the Duke.

I saw

I saw him the next morning in the Dutchess's apartment. He was extremely well pleased with my negotiation, and he told me that as to the engagement which I had entered into with the Queen in relation to myself, he could not be displeased with it, because he was himself firmly resolved (this conjuncture once past) never to concur in any thing with the Prince, provided that the Queen would keep strict to her promise in relation to Mazarin's exclusion. The Dutchess did her best to confirm him in these sentiments. She even made a new attempt to persuade him to begin at least that very day to try whether he could not prevail with the Prince to change his mind. The Duke found out some trifling excuses, and said that he could take more certain measures by staying that whole day, in expectation of what the Prince would himself communicate unto him. The Prince indeed sent him a gentleman about noon, but only to enquire after his health, or rather to know whether he would go the next day to the parliament. The Duke, who pretended to have taken physick that day, went to the Queen however towards night. He solemnly confirmed what I had promised her by his order. He protested unto her that he would in no manner open himself concerning what she gave him leave to hope, that she would still yield for this time to the Prince, if it was not in his power to prevail with him upon the article of the Sub-ministers. 'I do it,' said the Queen, 'out of pure regard for you, and upon your promise that you will be for me in what relates to all the other preteasions of the Prince, which, without doubt, will be infinite.' She pressed him earnestly afterwards to perform sincerely what I had promised her in his name, which was, to use his utmost efforts with the Prince to make him desist from his demands against the ministers. The Duke assured her that he had sent at noon, the Mareschal d'Estampes to St. Maur upon that account, which was true. He had changed his mind, after having refused it to the Dutchess, as I have before told you. He even staid at the Palais-Royal for the Prince's answer, which was negative, and which mentioned expressly that he would never desist from his instances. The Duke came back to his own palace very much perplexed, at least as it seemed to me. He mused all the evening long, and he retired much sooner than ordinary.

The next day, which was Tuesday the 11th of July, the chambers assembled, and the Prince of Conti went to the parliament very well accompanied. The Duke told the company, that he had used all the efforts possible, both with the



the Queen and with the Prince, for an accommodation, but that he could prevail with neither, and that he desired the company to join their endeavours to his. The Duke had no sooner done but the Prince of Conti spoke and said, that there was a gentleman from his brother at the door of the grand chamber. He was called in, and he delivered a letter from the Prince of Condé, which was properly but a copy of the first.

The first President continued pretty long to press the Duke to renew his instances for an accommodation. He excused himself at first for no other reason but because it is common to most men to seek for intreaties even about the things they desire. He refused it afterwards, under pretence of the impossibility of succeeding in it, but in effect, as he confessed to me that same day, because he was afraid of displeasing the Prince of Conti, or rather all the young Counsellors, who were calling aloud for the deliberation against the remains of Mazarinianism. The first President was obliged to yield. The King's council were called in to take their conclusions upon the request of the Prince. The heat against the Sub-ministers appeared very great that day, and all the address of the first President, added to the coldness of the Duke, who did not appear heated at all against them, could only obtain to have the deliberations put off to the next day, after an order however that the Prince's letter should be that day carried to the Queen. The Duke was also desired by the company to continue his offices for an accommodation. The heat that had appeared in the parliament, added to that of the people in the hall, which was very great, gave occasion to the Duke to applaud himself, for having rejected the advice I had given him, to oppose the Prince's declaration against the Sub-ministers. He even rallied me in some sort about it, at our coming out of the parliament; to which I replied, that I begged of him that I might put off my answer to the next day at the same hour.

The Duke went in the afternoon to Rambouillet, where he had given a rendezvous to the Prince. He had there a long conversation with him in the garden, and he told me at night that he had omitted nothing to persuade him not to insist on his declaration against the ministers. He told the like to the Dutchess, who was fully persuaded that it was true. I was the more inclined to believe it, because it is certain that he feared nothing more in the world than the return of the Prince to Paris, and that he thought himself very sure that he would not return if the ministers staid at court. But the Queen told

told me the next day, that she knew for certain that he combated for her but very weakly, and just, said she, as I should do if I was to fight sword in hand. It is impossible but that in the conversations which I have had since with the Prince, I must have learnt the particulars of this, but I do not remember any thing of what he may have told me about it. What is most certain, is, that the easiness which he shewed in suffering the matter to be put in deliberation, persuaded the Queen that he deceived her. She suspected that day, but much more the next, that I had my share in the deceit. You will see by the sequel that she continued not long to do me that injury.

The Parliament assembled the next day, which was the 14th, and the Advocate-General Talon made his report of the audience which he had had of the Queen. Her Majesty said only, that the Prince's second letter being but a copy of the first, she had nothing to add to the answer she had made to it. The Duke of Orleans acquainted the company with the conferences that he had had the day before with the Queen and with the Prince, declaring that he could prevail with neither. He kept himself extremely close in respect to the Sub-ministers, thinking thereby to satisfy the Queen. He enlarged even with emphasis upon the causes of distrust given to the Prince, as he pretended, fancying thereby that he should satisfy him. But he succeeded with neither. The Queen was persuaded that he had not kept his promise to her, and she had room enough to believe it, though I am not convinced that he really had been wanting to it. The Prince likewise complained very much that evening of his conduct, or at least the Count de Fiesque told Mr. de Brissac so. Such is the fate of those that endeavour to reconcile contradictions in pleasing both sides.

Talon having taken his conclusions, which for this time did not answer his usual firmness, for they appeared rather an affected nonsense, than a discourse worthy of that assembly; they began to vote. Two advices were opened at first. The one agreed with Talon's conclusions, which were, for thanking the Queen for the fresh assurances which she had given that Mazarin's removal was to be for ever; and for desiring her to give the Prince some satisfaction: this is what I have just now called nonsense. The other advice was that of Deslandes Payen, who, though a near relation of Lionne's, declaimed against the three sub-ministers, and voted that the company should demand expressly their removal. You will

easily

easily judge that I did not oppose this opinion in the Parliament, though I had opposed it in the Duke's closet. I mixed with my advice certain strokes which served to distinguish me from the multitude, that is, from those that were blindly led to vote against the name of Mazarin. That distinction was necessary to me in respect to the Queen, and was useful to me in respect to all those that did not approve of the Prince's conduct. They were many in the Parliament; and old Laine himself, Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, a man of little sense, but of an upright life, and a great enemy to Mazarin, declared however openly against the Prince's demand, affirming, that it was injurious to the royal authority. That circumstance, added to some others, obliged the Duke to confess to me that evening, that I had judged better than he, and that if he had opposed the proposal, as I had advised him, he had been much applauded for it, and followed by a great many; but by not speaking against it, he made people believe that he approved of it, so that even those that would have opposed it, though against the grain, came into it joyfully. I was not considerable enough to work in people's minds the same effect that the Duke might have done by opposing it, which was my reason for not doing so. But perceiving that if he had opposed it, he had been followed by a great many, I thought that that was enough to encourage me, without any fear of doing myself an injury by it with the publick, to give some indirect attacks to an action of which it was by all means necessary to diminish the merit, though I was obliged in regard both to the Duke and to the publick to contribute to it, at least with my vote. I understand this nonsense much better than I am able to explain it, and it is certain that it cannot be comprehended rightly but by those who were at that time at the deliberations. I have observed, perhaps more than twenty times, that what passed there at one instant for undeniably good, had undeniably passed for bad the next instant, if another turn had been given to a form, often of small consequence, or to a word sometimes frivolous. The difficulty is, to know how to discern and make use of those instants. It was in this that the Duke failed. I tried to supply it in what concerned me, in a manner that should not give any room to the Prince to say that I spared the remains of Mazarinianism, and by which I might however blemish in some sort the Prince's conduct. These are the very words which I used in delivering my opinion, which I caused the next day to be printed and published

all



all over Paris, for a reason which I shall by and by explain to you.

‘ I have \* always been persuaded that it were to be wished  
 ‘ that no distrust had ever appeared in the minds of people  
 ‘ about the return of Cardinal Mazarin, and that it had been  
 ‘ even looked upon as an impossible thing. His removal  
 ‘ having been judged necessary by the common desire of the  
 ‘ whole kingdom, it seems that the entertaining any doubts  
 ‘ about his return implies in it doubts about the safety of the  
 ‘ kingdom, because that could not happen without throwing  
 ‘ infallibly the state into confusion and disorder. If the jea-  
 ‘ lousies which appear upon that subject in the minds of peo-  
 ‘ ple, are well grounded, they will infallibly produce that  
 ‘ fatal effect; and if they have no foundation, they will  
 ‘ however afford a good ground to fear the dangerous effects  
 ‘ that will follow them, by serving as a pretence to all man-  
 ‘ ner of innovations.

‘ To extinguish them at once, and to take away from one  
 ‘ side their hopes, and from the other their pretences, I  
 ‘ judge that we ought on this occasion to leave nothing un-  
 ‘ certain in our determinations; and there being a talk of  
 ‘ many negotiations that alarm the publick and keep people’s  
 ‘ minds unquiet, I think that it would be necessary to de-  
 ‘ clare those that shall either negotiate with the Cardinal, or  
 ‘ enter into any steps whatsoever about his return, criminals,  
 ‘ and perturbators of the public peace.

‘ If the sentiments which his Royal Highness expressed  
 ‘ some months ago in this company, upon the subject of  
 ‘ those that were named, had been followed, affairs would  
 ‘ now have another face. People had not fallen into these  
 ‘ distrusts; the quiet of the state would now be assured, and  
 ‘ we should not be at this time put to the trouble of suppli-  
 ‘ cating his Royal Highness, as it is my advice to do, to use  
 ‘ his credit with the Queen for the removing from court  
 ‘ the remains of Mazarinianism, and the creatures of Car-  
 ‘ dinal Mazarin, who have been named. I know that the  
 ‘ manner in which this removal is asked for, is extraordi-  
 ‘ nary. It is certain, that if the aversion of one of the  
 ‘ Princes of the blood was always the rule of private people’s  
 ‘ fortune, that dependency would diminish very much the  
 ‘ authority

\* This speech is inserted, though with some alterations, in the memoirs of Joli, who pretends to have had a hand, together with M. de Caumartin, in the composing of it. See his Memoirs, Vol. I.

‘ authority of the King, and the liberty of his subjects: and  
 ‘ it might be said, that Privy Counsellors and others, that  
 ‘ subsist only by means of the court, would have many  
 ‘ masters.

‘ I believe, however, that an exception ought to be made  
 ‘ on this occasion. The affair in debate is in some sort a  
 ‘ natural consequence of that relating to Cardinal Mazarin.  
 ‘ We are upon a removal that may dissipate many jealousies  
 ‘ which are entertained about his return; upon a removal  
 ‘ which cannot but be very advantageous; which has been  
 ‘ desired, and proposed to this company by the Duke of Or-  
 ‘ leans, whose intentions, altogether pure and sincere, for  
 ‘ the King’s service and the good of the kingdom, are known  
 ‘ to all Europe, and whose sentiments are not to be drawn  
 ‘ into precedent by any body, because he is uncle to the  
 ‘ King, and Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

‘ We ought to hope from the prudence of their Majesties,  
 ‘ and from the wise conduct of the Duke of Orleans, that  
 ‘ things will take a better turn, that diffidences will cease,  
 ‘ and jealousies be removed, and that we shall quickly see  
 ‘ union restored in the royal family, which has always been  
 ‘ the prayers of all honest men, who chiefly moved by that  
 ‘ consideration, have wished for the liberty of the Princes  
 ‘ with such earnestness, that they have thought themselves  
 ‘ extremely happy when they have been able to contribute to  
 ‘ it by their suffrages.

‘ That I may therefore give my opinion in form, my ad-  
 ‘ vice is, to declare those that shall either negotiate with the  
 ‘ Cardinal, or enter into any steps whatsoever about his re-  
 ‘ turn, criminals, and perturbators of the publick peace; to  
 ‘ supplicate most humbly the Duke of Orleans, to use his  
 ‘ credit with the Queen for the removing from court the  
 ‘ creatures of the Cardinal who have been named, and to  
 ‘ support the remonstrances of the company upon that sub-  
 ‘ ject; to thank his Royal Highness for the continual care  
 ‘ he takes for the reunion of the royal Family, which is of  
 ‘ such importance to the tranquillity of this state, and indeed  
 ‘ of all Christendom, that I dare affirm, that it is the only  
 ‘ one previous thing necessary to a general peace.’

I must desire you to observe, that the Duke would abso-  
 lutely have me mention him in my speech as the first author  
 of the proposal against the Sub-ministers, because he made  
 no doubt but that it would meet with a general approbation;  
 and that I obeyed him in that point, but very unwillingly,  
 because I did not judge that what he had said from time to  
 time

time in very general terms against the friends of the Cardinal, was ground enough to mention and to maintain so specific a fact as that was. But I must likewise desire you to observe, that the emotion in which people were, was the cause that it was received for as good as if it had been altogether true; that this emotion however, though great, did not hinder many persons from reflecting seriously on what Mr. Laine had clearly expressed in delivering his opinion, and on what I had touched upon in mine, of the wound given to the royal authority; that the Duke, who perceived it, was sorry to have gone on so fast, and that he thought that he might safely and without injuring himself with the publick, retreat a little. What a multitude of opposite sentiments! what disagreement! what confusion in all these doings! People admire at them in history: they are not felt in action. Nothing appeared more natural than what was done and said on that day. I have reflected on it since, and I confess that to this moment I can hardly conceive the multitude, the variety, and the agitation of the sentiments, which my memory brings into my mind. But as at last people came insensibly to be pretty much of the same opinion; what had preceded was hardly taken notice of or felt, and I remember that Deslandes Payen was telling me at the rising of this day's assembly, 'It is a fine thing to see a company so well united!' Observe, I beseech you, that the Duke, who could discern things better, perceived very well that that union was of a nature which made him own to me, that the same men who voted in so uniform a manner, that, excepting a few, it seemed as if they had acted in concert; that he owned, I say, that these very men had sided with him if he had declared against the proposal. He was sorry not to have done it, but he was ashamed, and with good reason, to change his opinion of a sudden, and he contented himself with commanding me to let the Queen know by the Princess Palatine, that he hoped to find an opportunity of giving his advice in another manner. The Queen's answer was, that I should meet her at her oratory at midnight. She appeared to me to be incensed to the last degree at what had passed in the morning at the Parliament. She spoke of the Duke as of a perfidious man, and her manner of distinguishing me was to let me feel the more that she thought no better of me at the bottom of her heart. It was not difficult for me to justify myself, and to let her see that I neither could nor ought to have given my opinion in another manner than that I had done, and as I had told her before that I would do, as the case stood. I beseeched her to observe



observe that my advice was as much against the Prince as against the Cardinal. I even excused the Duke's conduct as much as it was in my power, because indeed he had not promised her not to vote against the Ministers; and when I saw that my reasons had no manner of effect upon her, and that prepossession, the nature of which is to arm itself chiefly against facts, made her find reasons to suspect even those that ought to have appeared the clearest to her; I thought that the only means to remove her doubts, was, to clear what was past by what was to come, having many times experienced that the only remedy against prevention is hope. I therefore flattered the Queen with the hope that the Duke would grow milder in the following deliberations, which were to last a day or two longer. But as I foresaw that this mildness of the Duke would not be such as would be necessary for the preserving the Sub-ministers, I took care to allay what I was speaking of, with a little too much exaggeration about the success, by a proposal that justified me before-hand, in case the event should prove otherwise. That conduct is always good when one has to do with persons whose genius leads them never to judge but by the event; because the same character of mind that occasions that defect, is likewise the reason why they never judge constantly of effects by their causes. Upon that ground I proposed to the Queen to print and publish, the next day, the speech I had made in the Parliament, and I made use of that offer to persuade her that if I had not thought myself very sure that the end of the deliberation would not be advantageous to the Prince, I should not aggravate by an action of this nature, done without necessity, what I had already done in declaring myself against her, more than even common prudence gave me leave to do.

The Queen embraced easily a proposal that pleased her. She thought that it proceeded from no other cause than that which I have mentioned. The satisfaction which she found in that thought, brought insensibly into her mind more favourable ideas of what had passed in the morning. It made her enter more calmly into the detail of what might happen the next day, and it was the cause that when she knew twenty-four hours after that the Duke's relenting would not be so useful to her, at least in the present conjuncture, as she had imagined, she ceased to lay the blame upon me. One must not use these sort of dealings with every body; they are only good with persons that have short views and are of a passionate temper. If the Queen had been capable of observation and of reflection, in respect to what was acting, or rather if

she had been served by persons who would have preferred her true interest to their own preservation, she had seen that there was no other way in that conjuncture, but to yield, as she had promised the Duke, since his Royal Highness went no further for her Majesty. She was not as yet capable of hearing the truth upon that subject, and less from me than from any other. This was the reason that made me disguise it to her, as others did; and I thought myself obliged to it, to be in a condition to serve her afterwards, and to serve likewise the Duke and the publick.

The next day, which was the 13th of July, the Parliament assembled. The deliberation was continued, and went on almost all the while upon the same foot, excepting five or six votes that were for declaring the three Sub-ministers, perturbators of the publick quiet. Somebody, whose name I have forgot, added to them the Abbot of Montague.

Upon the 14th the arrest was given in the Parliament conformable to the Duke's opinion, which carried it by a majority of 109 against 62. The contents of the arrest were, that the Queen should be thanked for her promise of not recalling the Cardinal; that she should be most humbly desired to send the declaration about the Cardinal to the Parliament, and to give the Prince of Condé all necessary sureties for his return; and those that entertained any commerce with the Cardinal should immediately be informed against. The Duke, who prevented the naming of the Sub-ministers in the arrest, thought that he had done more than he had ever promised the Queen. Neither did he doubt but that the Prince must be satisfied with him, because the sureties that were asked about his return, implied in it certainly, though tacitly, the removal of the Sub-ministers. The Duke came away from the Parliament mighty well pleased with himself, but nobody was so with him. The Queen took what he had done for double dealing, ridiculous in him, and of no service to her. The Prince took it as a sign only that the Duke was intent upon keeping measures with the court. The Queen did not dissemble her true sentiments, the Prince did not dissemble his enough. The Dutchess of Orleans, who was very much incensed, represented the thoughts of them both to his Royal Highness in the most lively colours. The Duke was frightened; and fear, that never applies fit remedies, obliged him to make submissions to the Queen, which being carried beyond measure, increased the diffidence which she had of him, and to make advances to the Prince, which had an effect directly contrary to that which the Duke the most ardently desired.

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His only aim was to please both sides, but to do it in a manner that might prevent the Prince's coming back to court, and that might oblige him to stay peaceably in his government. The only way to attain the last end, was to procure him advantages that might satisfy him for the time to come, but that did not insure him against the present, at least not enough to venture to come back to Paris. This is what I had proposed to him, and what the Dutches had countenanced with all her power. The Duke saw the usefulness of it, and approved it; his weakness made him take a quite opposite road. He took away from the Queen, by his low and false excuses, the belief which was necessary, to bring her in concert even with him, to a reasonable accommodation with the Prince. He gave the Prince so many assurances of his friendship for him, with a view to make him amends for the regard which he had shewn for the Sub-ministers, that whether the Prince relied on his assurances, or whether he trusted to the fear which he knew that the Duke had for him, he resolved to come back to Paris, under pretence that Cardinal Mazarin's creatures being removed, he feared no longer to be arrested. I shall open this new scene, after I have desired you to make an observation, which shews in my opinion, as much as any thing in the world, the privilege and the excellency of sincerity.

The Duke had not promised the Queen that he would not declare against the Sub-ministers: on the contrary, he had told her in express terms that he would do it. He did it but by halves, he shewed a regard for them, he saved them the shame of being mentioned by name in the arrest; he fell into no passion with the Queen, though she was herself wanting to the promise she had made him of abandoning them, in case he could not hinder the Prince from attacking them. Notwithstanding this, the Queen complained of the Duke with a harshness not to be conceived. She upbraided him that very afternoon, speaking to him in as rude and as violent a manner, as if he had been guilty of all imaginable treachery towards her. She pretended that she was disengaged by the Duke's proceeding, from the promise she had made him, not to contend too obstinately for the preservation of the Sub-ministers; and she not only said it, but she believed it, because the Duke, after the conversation in which the Dutches had frightened him, sent the Marshal d'Estampes to her Majesty to ask of her, properly speaking, an abolition; and because he himself asked it of her in the afternoon, with such excuses, as she told me, that none but a guilty man could have used.



I went to her at night by the Duke's command, but made her no apology as to my particular. I took it for granted that she could not have forgot what I had before-hand promised her to do on this occasion. She remembered it in a kind manner, and told me in express terms that she had no reason to complain of me; which words I clearly perceived she spoke from her heart. The Princess Palatine, who was present at our conversation, said to the Queen: 'What would not sincerity do in the conduct of a son of France, when in that of a Coadjutor of Paris, who has been so contrary to your will, it obliges your Majesty to commend it?' The Princess left nothing unsaid to give the Queen to understand that she ought not to stay till the remonstrances of the Parliament were brought to her, before she removed the Sub-ministers, because her dignity would be better preserved by preventing them. But she could gain nothing upon her mind, or rather upon the sharpness of her temper, by which she was altogether governed at certain instants. The Marshal d'Estrées has told me since, that she was moved on this occasion by something else besides that sharpness of temper, and that Chavigny flattered her that he could oblige the Prince to admit of explanations to the arrest. What makes me believe that the Marechal was in the right, is, that I know for certain that Chavigny pressed at that time the first President to soften a little the remonstrances: upon which the first President's answer was remarkable, and worthy of a great Magistrate: 'Sir,' said he, 'you have been one of those that have carried things furthest against the Sub-ministers: you have changed your mind; I have nothing to say to it; but the Parliament is still the same.' The Queen was, during the whole day, of another opinion than the first President was, for she believed, as it seemed to me, that the arrest might admit of favourable explanations, and that perhaps the first President might himself make use of these explanations in the remonstrances. She did not do him justice on this occasion, as you shall see by and by.

That arrest was given on the 14th of July, and the Sub-ministers not being mentioned in it by name, it opened a large field to reflections, and consequently to negotiations, from the 14th to the 18th, which was the day that the remonstrances were made. I could give you an account of what was said about it, but that being, properly speaking, nothing else but the reports, or the echo, of St. Maur and of the Palais-royal, spread, as it is likely, designedly among the publick,

publick, I believe that what I should relate about it would prove as superfluous as uncertain. I will therefore content myself with telling you, that what I could discover of it at that time, was only a ridiculous eagerness in all the subalterns of the two parties, for negotiating. That eagerness in conjunctures like this is always followed with negotiations, but it is certain that it still produces more imaginary ones than real ones. Fortune gave room to these negotiations, by causing the remonstrances, for want of the arrest's being signed, and by reason of some obstacle very natural on the side of the Palais-royal, to be delayed till the 18th. *Any gap that happens in times of faction, and of intrigues, passes for mysterious with all those that are not used to great affairs.* That gap, which was filled up during the 15th, 16th, and the 17th, with nothing else but negotiations which proved by the event to have hardly any thing of substance in them, was entirely closed upon the 18th, the day that the remonstrances were presented. The first President, who presented them, spoke with all possible vigour, and though he kept within the terms of the arrest by not naming the Sub-ministers, he described them so well, that the Queen complained of it, even angrily, saying that the first President was of an incomprehensible humour, and was more troublesome than those who had the worst intentions. These were her words in mentioning this to me; and having taken the liberty to tell her that the chief of a company could not without prevarication forbear explaining the sentiments of his company, though his private sentiments agreed not with them; she replied with anger: 'These are republican maxims.' My reason for mentioning this little detail, is only because it will give you a true idea of the misfortunes which befall monarchies, when those that govern them know nothing of their most equitable rules, nor of their most common evils. I will give you an account of what followed the remonstrances, after I have told you a story which happened at the Parliament at the time of the deliberation of which I have just now spoken.

The singularity of the subject brought thither many ladies, who could see the assembly and hear the speeches from the lanternes. Madam and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse came thither with many others, on the 13th of July, the day before the arrest was given. These two ladies were distinguished from the rest, by one Maillard, a bawling man, hired by the party of the Princes. It being natural for ladies to fear a crowd, they came not out of the lanternes till after the Duke

Duke and every body were retired. They were saluted in the hall with the hooting of twenty or thirty rascals of the same rank as their chief, who was a cobbler by profession. My name was not spared amongst them. I did not learn this piece of news till I came to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I went to dinner after I had waited on the Duke to his palace. I found Madam de Chevreuse in a rage, and her daughter all in tears. I tried to appease them, by assuring them, that they should quickly be revenged of these insolent fellows, upon whom I offered to have an exemplary punishment inflicted that same day. These unworthy victims were rejected even with a shew of indignation for their having been so much as proposed. Nothing would serve but the blood of the Bourbons, to repair the affront done to the blood of Lorraine. These were Madam de Chevreuse's very words, and all the medium which Madam de Rhodes, instructed by Caumartin, could bring to be accepted of, was, that the ladies should return the next day to the Parliament, with such attendance as would put them in a condition of making themselves respected, and of giving the Prince of Conti to understand, that it was his interest to prevent those of his party from committing any more insolences. Montresor that happened by chance to be at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, said all he could to give the ladies an apprehension of the inconveniences that were to make a private affair of a publick one, at a time when it might be attended with consequences no less terrible than the loss of a Prince of the blood. When he saw that all his endeavours were superfluous, both with the mother and daughter; he turned short upon me, and did all that lay in his power to oblige me to put off my resentment to another time. He even took me aside, to represent to me the more freely the joy and triumph of my enemies, if I suffered myself to be governed by the impetuosity of these ladies. I answered him in these very words: 'I am in the wrong, both in regard to my profession, and even to the affairs I have on my hands, to be so far engaged, as I am with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; but considering that engagement into which I am entered, and upon which it is too late to deliberate, I am in the right to seek for satisfaction, and to do it effectually, in the present conjuncture. I will not cause the Prince of Conti to be assassinated, but the lady may command me any thing except poisoning or assassination. You must say no more to me about it.' Caumartin thought at that same time upon the expedient which I have mentioned, which was, to go to the Parliament in a triumphant



triumphant manner, not as upon a good expedient, but as upon one in which there was the least evil, considering the ladies disposition. He went to propose it to Madam de Rhodes, who had an influence over Madam de Chevreuse, and it was approved. The ladies appeared the next day in the lanternes, attended by above 400 gentlemen, and above 4000 of the most substantial citizens. The mob, who used to make a noise in the hall, vanished away all in a fright; and the Prince of Conti, who had had no notice of the assembling such a number of people, which had been contrived and executed with an inconceivable secrecy, was obliged, as he passed by, to make low bows both to Madam and Made-moiselle de Chevreuse; and to suffer Maillard, who was taken upon the stairs of the Holy Chapel, to be soundly cud-gelled. This was the manner in which ended one of the nicest adventures that has happened to me in the whole course of my life. The event might have given it a cruel and pernicious turn, because tho' I did nothing but what I was obliged to do, considering the circumstances, my reputation run almost as great a risk of being lost as my fortune did, if things had happened as it was natural to expect they should. I saw all the inconveniencies, and yet I hazarded them all, and have even never reproached myself with that action as a faulty one, because I have been persuaded that it was of the nature of those which politicks condemn, and which morality justifies. I come now to what followed after the remonstrances.

The Queen answered them with a countenance more gay and more free than ordinary. She told the deputies that she would send the very next day the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin to the Parliament; and as to what concerned the Prince, she would let the company know her pleasure, after she had conferred about it with the Duke of Orleans. That conference, which was held that same evening, produced outwardly the effect that was wished, for the Queen told the Duke that she would yield as to the removal of the Sub-ministers, in case he really desired it. The truth is, that she affected to set off to him a thing which she was resolved upon since morning, much less upon the remonstrances of the Parliament, than upon the leave she had received from Breull to do it. We guessed at it (the Princess Palatine and I) because that change in her appeared just at the time that we were informed of the arrival of Marsac from thence, the night before. It was not long before we knew the particulars

lars of his dispatches, which were, that the Cardinal sent the Queen word that she ought not to stand wavering about the removal of the Sub-ministers, and that her enemies did her service in giving no bounds to their rage. Berthet gave me an account some days after of the contents of the letter, which was very fine. The Duke came back to his palace triumphing in his imagination.

The Queen sent the very next day for the deputies, to command them to acquaint the Parliament with her resolution. That which the Prince took upon the 21st, to come and take his seat there, surprized the Duke to a degree which I am not able to express, though there was nothing surprizing in it. I had several times foretold it him. He came thither about eight in the morning, with Mr. de la Rochefoucault, and fifty or sixty gentlemen with him. Finding the chambers assembled for the reception of two counsellors, he told the company that he came to rejoice with them, for having obtained the removal of the ministers, but that there could be no reliance made on that removal, but by inserting an article in the declaration which the Queen had promised to send to the Parliament. The first President answered him very civilly, beginning with a recital of what had passed at the Palais-royal, and adding afterwards that it would become neither the duty nor the respect owed to the Queen, to be every day asking her new conditions; that the Queen's word was sufficient of itself; that she was so kind besides as to make the Parliament her trustee for it; that it were to be wished that the Prince had expressed the trust which he ought to repose in it, by going directly to the Palais-royal, rather than come to that of justice; that speaking to him from the seat in which he was, he could not forbear to express his wonder to him upon that conduct. The Prince answered him, that the sad experience which he had lately had in his prison ought to prevent people's wonder, that he should no longer expose himself without precaution; that it was notoriously true that Cardinal Mazarin reigned more absolutely than ever in the cabinet; that from that consideration, he was that moment going to confer with his Royal Highness upon that subject, and that he beseeched the company not to deliberate about any thing that concerned him, but in his Royal Highness's presence. He went after this to the Duke's, to whom he spoke of his coming to the Parliament as of a thing which they had concerted together the day before at Rambouillet, where it is certain that they had been walking together at least for two or three hours. What is surprizing in this, is, that the Duke, at his  
return

return from Rambouillet, told the Dutcheſs that the Prince was ſo much ſcared (he made uſe of that word) that he believed he would not venture to come back to Paris, till ten years after the Cardinal's death; and that after his ſeeing the Prince, who came to him from the Parliament, he ſpoke to me in theſe very terms: 'The Prince would not yeſterday come back to Paris; he is this day come, and for the ſingularity of the matter, I muſt act with him as if he was come in concert with me. He tells me himſelf that we reſolved upon it yeſterday together.' You muſt obſerve that the Prince, to whom I ſpoke of this ſeven or eight years after, aſſured me that he had told the Duke at Rambouillet, that he would come to the Parliament; that he perceived by his countenance that he had been better pleaſed if he had not come; but that he did not oppoſe his coming, and ſeemed even glad of it the next day, when he went to him from the Parliament. The effects produced by weakneſs are inconceivable, and I affirm that they are even more prodigious than thoſe of the moſt violent paſſions; it aſſembles together, oftner than any other paſſion, things oppoſite to one another.

The Prince went back to St. Maur, and the Duke went to the Queen, to make her ſome excuſes, or rather to explain to her the reaſons of the Prince's viſiting him. The Queen perceived very well, by the trouble his Royal Highneſs was in, that his conduct was rather an effect of his weakneſs than of his ill-will. She took pity on him, but of that ſort of pity that leads to contempt, and that turns immediately after to anger. She could not therefore prevent ſhewing the Duke much more of this laſt than ſhe herſelf intended, and ſhe told the Princeſs Palatine that evening that it was harder than it was thought, to diſſemble with thoſe one deſpiſes. The Queen ordered the Princeſs Palatine at the ſame time to tell me in her name that ſhe knew that I had no ſhare in theſe infamous actions (that was her word) of the Duke's, and that ſhe made no doubt but that I would keep the promiſe I had given her to declare myſelf openly againſt the Prince, in caſe that after the removal of the Sub-miniſters he continued to trouble the court. The Duke, who thought that he ſhould in ſome ſort ſatisfy the Queen by approving that conduct, was extremely glad when I told him that I could not excuſe myſelf from executing the thing which he had himſelf thought good that I ſhould promiſe. I ſaw the Queen the next day; I aſſured her, that if the Prince came back to Paris accompanied and armed as the report went, I would appear in the



like manner; and that, provided she continued to give me leave to speak and to print pamphlets as I had done against the Cardinal, I gave her my word that I would not yield the Prince the wall, but would keep it, by giving out that the Cardinal and his creatures being removed, it was not just to continue to make use of their names, to destroy the royal authority, for the sake of some private interests. I cannot express the satisfaction which the Queen shewed me, and she even spoke these words to me, which she let fall unawares: 'You were some time since telling me, that men will not believe others capable of doing what they themselves are not capable of: how true this is!' I did not understand at that time the meaning of these words. Berthet explained them to me some time after, the Queen having repeated them to him at a time that she complained that the Sub-ministers, but chiefly le Tellier, who was no farther off the court than Chaville, preferred their hatred to me to her service, and sent her word daily that I deceived her: that it was I that obliged the Duke to act as he did; and that she would quickly see, that I should not make head against the Prince, except I did it in concert with him. All that I have been mentioning happened between Friday the 21st of July, and Sunday night the 23d. Just as I was going that night to bed, I received a billet from the Princess Palatine, acquainting me that she staid at the end of the Pont Neuf for me. I met her there in a hackney-coach, which the Chevalier de la Vieuville drove, and she had only time to bid me go with all possible haste to the Palais-royal. At my arrival the Queen told me with a troubled countenance, that she had that moment been informed, that for certain the Prince of Condé was to go the next day to the Parliament, with a numerous attendance, to ask for the assembly of the chambers, and to oblige the company to have the exclusion of the Sub-ministers inserted in the declaration against the Cardinal; 'for which,' added she with an anger that appeared natural to me, 'I should care but little if their interests were only concerned in it; but you see,' continued she, 'that there is no end of the Prince's pretensions, and that he aims at all, if means are not found to stop him. He is just now arrived from St. Maur, and the advice, as you will own, that has been given me of his design, and upon which I have sent for you, is good. What will the Duke do? what will you do?' I told the Queen that she knew very well by past experience that I could hardly answer for the Duke; but that I could give her my word

word that I would do my very best to oblige him to act in the manner that he ought to do in this occasion, for her interest; and that in case he did not do his duty, I would however convince her Majesty, that it would in no manner be my fault. I promised her to go myself to the Parliament with all my friends, and that my behaviour there should be to her satisfaction. I made her even consent, that if I could not oblige the Duke to declare himself for her, I should use all my endeavours to persuade him to go at least for some days to Limours, under pretence of his health, which would let both the Parliament and the publick see, that he disapproved of the Prince's conduct. All these overtures pleased the Queen infinitely, and she expressed an impatience for my going to the Duke, whom I found in bed with the Dutchess. I caused them to be awakened, and gave them an account of my commission. The Duke, at whose house the Prince had alighted at his arrival, had of himself thought upon the expedient which I had resolved to propose to him, and he had told the Prince, who pressed him to go the next day to the Parliament, that it was a thing impossible, and that he found himself so ill, that he was obliged to go to Limours for some days to take the air. I committed a notable error upon this occasion, for instead of setting off this journey to the Queen as the effect of what I had promised her to do, I only sent her word by Berthet, who stayed for me at the end of the street called de Tournon, that I had found him resolved to go to Limours. As persons of little sense will never think any thing natural which may be the effect of art, the Queen could not imagine that that resolution of the Duke's could by meer chance agree so well with the proposal I had made to her at the Palais-royal. That put her again upon suspecting me of entering into all the Duke's measures: but those she saw me take afterwards made her repent, as she herself owned to me, of having done me this wrong.

My first step was my going the next day, which was Monday the 24th of July, to the Parliament, with a great number of gentlemen, and of citizens of the better sort. The Prince came into the grand chamber, and demanded the assembly of the chambers. The first President refused it without any hesitation, telling him that he could not do it so long as he had not seen the King. Many words arose upon that, in which the time of the whole sitting was spent. The court rose up, and the Prince returned to St. Maur, from whence he sent Chavigny to the Duke, with complaints stronger and sharper than those he had himself made to him the day before;

fore; for I have forgot to tell you that when the Duke acquainted the Prince with his design of spending some days at Limours, the Prince seemed to be not much concerned at it. I do not know what obliged him to change his mind; I only know that he changed it, and that Chavigny, by his order, pressed the Duke to come back to Paris, in such a manner as obliged him to comply. He sent Joui to me as he was entering his coach, to command me to tell the Queen that she should see by the event that his return was for her service. I did exactly as I was commanded, but Joui having informed me that the means which Chavigny had used to persuade the Duke were only the putting him in fear of the Prince, I had room to believe that the continuance of that fear might oblige the Duke to explain afterwards that service which he intended the Queen, in a manner that would not please her, and I therefore thought fit to assure her Majesty of my particular service, in much stronger and more positive terms than those which the Duke made use of. She observed it, and confided in it, which seldom fails to happen when the offers are immediately to be followed by effects. It is what she told the Duke, who went directly from Limours to the Palais-royal, and who would have persuaded her that his return was the effect of the desire he had to manage and moderate, said he, the passionate temper of the Prince. But seeing that she could not make him explain himself upon what he was to do the next day at the Parliament for her service, she said to him in the loudest and sharpest tone, 'Always for me for the time to come; always against me for the present.' She then fell to threats, and afterwards thundered. The Duke was frightened, and his fright continued after he was come to his own palace, having met the Dutchesse there, who told him all that the violent passion she was in could suggest to her. I did not help to hide from him the abyss which the Dutchesse shewed him opened. What Chavigny had told him that had made most impression upon him, was the people's hatred, which he had shewed him as unavoidable, if he appeared to disagree in the least with the Prince, whose steps were all directly turned against the Cardinal. The Dutchesse, who was not ignorant of his nicety, or rather weakness upon that point, which was represented to him at every instant in the most frightful colours, proposed to him, to bring the Queen to give the Parliament new hopes about the declaration against the Cardinal, and of the Sub-ministers being removed for ever from the court. The duke added, 'and of the safety of the Prince.' The Dutchesse, to whom the Duke had said



said over and over an hundred times that he feared nothing so much in the world as the return of the Prince, fell into a passion at that word, and she represented to him that he seemed to take delight in acting continually against his interest, and against his views. The conclusion was, that he had entered still into engagements for this time, which he must perform; but that after this assembly of the chambers, at which he could not refuse the Prince to be present, he would certainly go to Limours, and mind there his health, and that he would leave the Prince to make an end of his own affairs as he should think fit. He added likewise, that it was the Queen's business to send on her side such messages to the Parliament, as might prevent their giving credit there to the favourable appearances which the court gave a thousand times in a day in favour of Mazarin. The Dutchess sent the Queen an account that very evening of what had passed between her, the Duke, and me; and the first President, to whom the Queen had immediately sent Mr. de Brienne to advise with, returned her word, that in effect it would be very fit that she should send the next morning a *lettre de cachet* to the Parliament, ordering therein the company to come to her by deputies about eleven, and there cause the Chancellor to tell them in her presence, that she expected they should have come some days before to the Chancellor's, to go about the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin; that she should herself add that she had sent for them, that she might make the royal depositaries of the royal word, which she gave the Prince of Condé, that he might stay at Paris with all safety; that she had no manner of thought of causing him to be arrested; that Messieurs le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, were removed for ever, and without any hopes of being recalled. This is what the first President sent in writing to the Queen, desiring Mr. de Brienne to assure her Majesty, that if she would give a declaration of that nature, he would oblige the Prince to moderate himself; he made use of that expression.

The next day, which was Tuesday the 26th of July, the Parliament assembled. Saintot, Lieutenant of the Ceremonies, brought the *lettre de cachet*; the first President went to the Palais-royal with twelve Counsellors of each chamber. The Chancellor spoke in the manner I have expressed, and the Queen likewise. The Duke went to Limours, declaring that he could not come back from thence till the Monday following; and the Prince, who had much encreased his retinue, and given them richer liveries, instead of returning to St. Maur, went with a great number of attendants, and even with

with great pomp, to the Hôtel de Condé, where he lay that night;

I dare say that you have for some time been expecting from me the detail of what passed in the Prince's party, or rather a description of the inside of that great machine, the motions of which have appeared to you, if I am not mistaken, singular enough to excite in you a curiosity of knowing the springs that put it into action. But it is impossible for me to satisfy this desire, both because I have forgot an infinite number of circumstances relating to it, and because I remember in general that the multitude of different interests that agitated that body and all its parts, confounded so much, even at that time, the images of things, that I could hardly see any one of them distinctly. Madam de Longueville, Mr. de Bouillon, Messieurs de Nemours, de la Rochefoucault, and de Chamilly, formed an inexplicable chaos of intentions and intrigues, not only distinct, but opposite. I know very well that those who were the most engaged in that cause, owned that they could not unravel that confusion. I indeed remember that Viole informed an intimate friend of his, upon the last day of July 1651, of the reasons that engaged Madam de Longueville to go to Montrand; but I likewise remember that Croissi, upon the 4th of August, gave to the man in the world whom he would least have deceived, reasons for that journey directly opposite to the others. I recal to my remembrance twenty circumstances of that nature, which give me no other light into that detail than what I need to assure you that if I should enter into the particulars of all the motions of the Prince, and of those of his party at that time, I should give you, properly speaking, but a very defective draught of the conjectures which we formed at a venture every morning, and which we condemned every evening at random.

The Fronde being better united together, I am persuaded that those of the contrary party were better able to judge rightly of it: But I am however no less persuaded, that those who would undertake to give an exact account of all our steps during those movements, would often fall into mistakes. As for my part, I give you only a faithful account of what I certainly know, and it is for that reason that I have touched but very lightly upon what passed at St. Maur. One might write volumes of all that was said about it at that time, and Madam de Longueville's resolution of retiring into Berry with the Princess of Condé, had alone as many different interpretations

terpretations as there were men or women that were pleased to judge of it. I return to what passed in the Parliament.

I have acquainted you with the Duke of Orleans's resolution of going for the second time to Limours. The Prince of Condé being informed of it, came to him at ten at night to make his complaints, and he obliged him to send the first President word, that he would be on the Monday following at the assembly of the chambers. But as this engagement was only the effect of his weakness, which would not give him leave to contradict the Prince to his face, he feigned on the Sunday to be sick, and sent to excuse himself for not going the next day to the Parliament. The Prince caused some Counsellors of the Chambers of Inquests to go upon the Tuesday into the grand chamber to ask for an assembly. The first President excused himself, by reason of the Duke's absence. Upon this murmurs arose, which were affectedly represented to the Duke, greater than they were. Chavigny shewed him the Prince in all his pomp, lording it in the streets with stately liveries, and a numerous attendance. The Duke feared that he would render himself master of the people, except he went to share with him the clamours against Mazarin. He was told that upon the Sunday night the women had cried in the streets of St. Honoré, as the King went by in his coach, 'No Mazarin.' He was told that the Prince had met the King at the Cours, with as great an attendance at least as his Majesty. This put him into a fright. He came back on the Tuesday to Paris, and he went on Wednesday the second of August to the Parliament, whither I failed not to go likewise, accompanied by all my friends, and by a very great number of the better sort of citizens. The first President made his report of what had passed upon the 26th of July at the Palais-royal, and he greatly magnified the Queen's goodness in depositing in the Parliament's hands her promise in relation to the safety of the Prince. He afterwards asked his Highness whether he had seen the King? The Prince said that he had not; that there was no safety for him, and that he was informed from good hands, that there had been lately secret conferences held in order to arrest him; and that he would at a convenient time name the authors of these counsels. In pronouncing these last words he looked on me haughtily, and in a manner that caused every body to cast their eyes upon me. He went on afterwards, and said that Ondedei was expected that night at Paris, coming from Breull; that Berthet, Fouquet, Silhon, Brachet, were continually upon the road thither; that Mr. de Mercœur had  
lately



lately married one of the Manciny's; \* that the Marechal d'Aumont had orders to cut in pieces the regiments of Condé, of Conti, and of Euguyen, and that these orders were the only cause that had prevented their joining the King's army.

After the Prince had done speaking, the first President said, that it was with pain that he saw him in that place, not having as yet seen the King, as if he intended thereby to set up altar against altar. The Prince grew angry at that word, and in justifying himself he said, that those that spoke against him did it only for the sake of their private interest. The first President replied to this boldly, that he never had any such view, but that he was answerable for his actions to none but the King. He enlarged afterwards upon the misfortunes that the state might fall into by the divisions in the Royal Family; then addressing himself to the Prince, he said in a very pathetick manner: 'Is it possible, Sir, that you have not been struck with horror, in reflecting upon what passed on Monday last at the Cours?' The Prince answered, that he had been vexed at it to the last degree, but that it was an accidental thing not occasioned by his fault, because there was no room for him to imagine that he could meet the King there after his bathing, the weather being so cold. There happened at that instant two mistakes, which had like to have shifted the scene, and to have turned it against me. The Duke, who heard a great applause given to what the Prince had said last, the company finding that he had cleared himself very well, as indeed he had, of the last charge against him, which of itself was not very favourable; the Duke, I say, did not perceive that the applause given to the Prince, was only in respect to this last point. He fancied that the company, for the most part, approved what the Prince had said in relation to the danger his person was exposed to; he was afraid to be included amongst those that were suspected, and thought fit therefore to exclude himself. He said that it was true, that the Prince's distrust was not without foundation; that Mr. de Mercœur's marriage was real, and that there was a great correspondence kept on foot with Mazarin. The first President, who saw that the Duke was in some manner supporting what the Prince had said of the danger to which he was exposed, in the same discourse wherein he had pointed at me, thought that his Royal Highness had forsaken me; and being better affected to the Prince than to me,

(though

\* Nieces to Cardinal Mazarin.

(though he was still better affected to the court than to the Prince) he turned to the first of a sudden, saying to the eldest Counsellor: 'Sir, your opinion?' He made no doubt but that in a deliberation, the subject of which was the safety of the Prince, there would be many voices that would take notice of me. I immediately perceived his design, which perplexed me much, though only for a very little time. For I called to my remembrance what Francis \* Duke of Guise did, when Lewis † Prince of Condé carried his complaints to this same Parliament against those that had almost brought him to the scaffold in the reign of Francis the second. For the Prince having told the company that he was ready to divest himself of his quality of Prince of the blood, in order to fight those that had been the cause of his imprisonment, the Duke of Guise, who was the man pointed at, intreated the Parliament to procure him the honour of being the Prince's second in that duel. As I was not to speak till immediately after the Grand Chamber, I had time enough to consider upon this example, which fitted so much the better my purpose, that I was properly the man who was to open the advices, because the old Counsellors that were to speak before me seldom do it to any purpose, when they are to speak upon a subject on which they are not prepared. I was not mistaken in my views. He that spoke first exhorted the Prince to pay his duty to the King. Broussel harangued against Mazarin. Charon just touched upon the matter, but so slightly, that I had room enough to pretend that it had not been at all handled. I therefore told the company, that I begged of the gentlemen that had spoke before me, to pardon me if I wondered that they had not enough considered, at least in my thoughts, upon the importance of this deliberation; that in the safety of the Prince of Condé, considering the present conjuncture, that of the state was included; that the doubts which arose upon that subject, occasioned pretences which were vexatious in every circumstance. My conclusion therefore was, that the Attorney-General should be ordered to inform against those who had advised the arresting of the Prince. The Prince was the first that smiled, to hear me

\* Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, he that was killed by Poltrot.

† Lewis de Bourbon, who was imprisoned at Orleans by the faction of the house of Guise, upon account of the attempt at Amboise, of which he was acquitted by the Parliament in 1562.

me speak in this manner, in which he was followed by almost the whole company. I went on however very seriously in delivering my advice, adding, that as to the rest I agreed to what Mr. Charon had said, which was, that the Queen's words should be registered; that the Prince should be desired by the company to wait on the King; that Mr. de Mercœur should be sent for, to give the company an account on the Monday following of his pretended marriage; that the arrests given against the Cardinal's domestick servants should be executed; that Ondedei should be arrested, and that Berthet, Brachet, the Abbot Fouquet, and Silhon, should be subpoenaed before Messieurs Broussel and Munier, to answer to all the facts which the Attorney-General might propose against him. This advice past unanimously. The Prince, who appeared very well pleased with it, said there was need of no less to make him think himself safe. The Duke carried him that very afternoon to wait on the King and Queen, from whom he had but a very cold reception. The first President said that evening to Mr. de Turenne, from whom I have heard it since, that if the Prince had known how to play the ball which he had served him in the morning, he had got fifteen of me towards the game. It is certain that there were two or three instants in that sitting, in which the Prince gave by his complaint, impressions and motions to the company, which terrified me. I changed the one and shifted the other, by the means which I have mentioned, which will serve to confirm what I have told you more than once, that all may depend on a single instant in these companies.

The Queen had beyond comparison a greater feeling of the stroke given to Mr. de Mercœur's marriage, than of the counter-blow given to her authority, though much more material and of greater importance. She commanded me to come to her, and she charged me to intreat the Duke in her name to prevent the pushing on that affair. She spoke to him about it herself with tears in her eyes, and she visibly shewed me that what she thought more personally relating to the Cardinal was, and would always be, what would touch her in the most sensible part. Mr. le Tellier cured her of her fear about Mr. de Mercœur's marriage. He wrote her word that it was a happiness that this trifle amused the faction, and that she ought to rejoice at it, and so much the more because he would willingly be answerable that all this blustering would prove but a sudden blaze that would not last above four days, and would turn the authors of it into ridicule, because nothing material could at the bottom be

done



done against that marriage. The Queen at last, though with some difficulty, was sensible of it, which made her give her consent to Mr. de Mercœur's appearing before the parliament.

What passed on that subject on Monday the 7th of August, and on the day following, is of so little consequence that it does not deserve your attention. I will only tell you that Mr. de Mercœur answered at first as demurely as could have been expected from him; but that by teasing him over-much he was so provoked that he cruelly embarrassed both the Duke and the Prince, by affirming to the first that he had solicited him for three months together to hearken to that match; and to the second, that he had positively and expressly consented to it. The greatest part of these two sittings was consumed in negotiations and explanations; and at the end of the last the declaration against the Cardinal was read, but was sent back to the Chancellor, because he had not inserted in it that the Cardinal had hindered the peace at Munster, and that against the Duke of Orleans's advice he had obliged the King to go to Bourdeaux, and to besiege it. It was likewise desired that it should import that one of the motives for which the Cardinal had caused the Prince to be arrested, was, his refusing to consent to the marriage between Mr. de Mercœur and Made-moiselle de Mancini.

The Queen, exasperated at the continuance of the behaviour of the Prince, who appeared in Paris with a greater and more magnificent retinue than either the King or the Duke, and likewise at the behaviour of this last, whose mind was continually changing; the Queen, I say, vexed to the last degree at this, resolved to play quit or double. Mr. de Chateauneuf flattered her inclination in that, and she was confirmed in it by a dispatch from Breull that was a thundering one. She told the Duke plainly that she could remain no longer in the state in which she was, and that she desired him to declare himself positively either for or against her. She spoke to me in his presence, challenging the promise I had made to her, of appearing openly against the Prince if he continued to act as he had begun. The Duke finding me resolved to keep to my engagement, which he had himself approved of, would have the credit of it with the Queen, thinking thereby to come off clear with her, for not exposing his own person, which he was not naturally inclined to do. He alledged a dozen reasons to her to make her approve of his ceasing to appear at the Parliament, insinuating that my presence, which was always attended with the best part of those  
that

that belonged to him, was enough to give the Parliament and the publick to understand what his inclination and intentions were. The Queen was not much troubled at his declining to go to the Parliament, tho' she seemed outwardly displeased at it. This conjuncture convinced her entirely that I acted sincerely for her service, finding clearly that I did not at all hesitate to keep to what I had promised her. It was at that instant that she was pleased to speak to me in the manner which I believe I have already mentioned. She condescended, and that heartily and without any dissimulation, to make me some excuses for her mistrusting my conduct, and for the wrong she had done me, (that was her word.) She ordered me to confer with Mr. de Chateauneuf about the proposal she had made to him, not to remain always on the defensive as she had hitherto done, but to attack the Prince in the Parliament. I will give you an account of what followed that proposal, after I have told you the reason which moved the Queen to repose a greater trust in me than she had done hitherto. The Duke's wavering had scared her to that degree, that she knew not sometimes who to blame for it; and the Sub-ministers, who (excepting Lionne whom she mortally hated) continued to keep a great correspondence with her, left nothing undone to persuade her that the Duke at the bottom took not the least step but at my instigation. She observed some of these steps, which she found so irregular and even so opposite to my maxims, that she could not find in her heart to impute them to me; and I know that writing one day to Servien upon that subject, she said to him: 'I am not the Coadjutor's dupe, but I should be yours if I believed what you write to me this day about him.' Berthet has told me that he was present when she writ these words, but he remembered not precisely what other matters occasioned her writing to him. Her patience being exhausted, and being resolved to attack the Prince, both by Chateauneuf's advice and by the leave she had received from Breull to do it, she was extremely glad to find that she might confide in me to serve her in it. She had applied herself more than ordinary to be assured on this point, of which I will give you this proof. She carried the Dutches of Orleans with her to the Carmelites, upon some solemn day that related to their order; she took her aside after she had received the sacrament; she made her swear that she would tell her the truth upon a question she was to ask her, and that question was, whether I served her faithfully with the Duke? The Dutches replied without any hesitation, that

that in every thing that had nothing to do with the Cardinal's return, I served her Majesty not only with fidelity, but with ardour. The Queen, who loved and esteemed the true piety of the Dutchess, gave credit to her testimony, and a testimony given after such an act of devotion. It happened by good luck that I had an opportunity the very next day to explain myself to the Queen in his Royal Highness's presence, which I did without any hesitation, and in a manner that pleased her; and what touched her still more than the rest, was, that the Duke, who hitherto had shewn but little firmness in keeping what he had promised the Queen on some occasions, did not fail her in this, at least so much as at other times. It was not in the Prince's power to carry him to the Parliament, tho' he used his utmost efforts for it; and the Queen imputed to my industry what I believed at that time, and what I have ever since believed, to have been the effect only of the fear he was in of exposing himself in a fray which he had room to believe not to be far off by reason of the Queen's being so much exasperated, and of the new engagement which I was just entered into with her. I return to the conference which I had with Mr. de Chateauneuf by the Queen's command.

I went to him to Montrouge in company with the President de Bellievre, who had writ under him the memorial which he had proposed to the Queen to send to the parliament, and which seemed indeed rather writ with gall than ink. Mr. de Chateauneuf, who had now but a few weeks to stay, to be the first at the council-board, as I have already mentioned, mixed in this conjuncture with his cholerick and violent temper, a great apprehension that the Prince should reconcile himself to the court, and trouble him in his new post. I believe that his consideration helped to give his stile a greater sharpness. I spoke to him of it very freely, and was seconded by the President de Bellievre. He softened some terms, but left the substance. I brought it back to the Queen, who found it too soft. She ordered me to carry it to the Duke, who found it too harsh. The first President, to whom he communicated it by the means of Mr. de Brienne, found too much vinegar in it, but he seasoned it with a little salt: that was the expression he used when he returned it to Mr. de Brienne, after he had kept it half a day. This is an abstract of what it contained: \* a reproach of all the favours bestowed on the house of Condé, by the court; a complaint of the manners of the Prince of Condé, and of his conduct

\* This whole piece is inserted in the last volume.



conduct since his liberty ; an exemplification of that conduct ; his caballing in the provinces ; the reinforcement of the garrisons he had in his places ; Madam de Longueville's retreat into Montrand ; the Spaniards he kept in Stenay ; his intelligence with the Arch-duke ; the separating his troops from those of the King. The beginning of this writing was adorned with a solemn protestation of never recalling Cardinal Mazarin, and the end with an exhortation to the sovereign courts of judicature, and to the town-house of Paris, to keep to their loyalty.

Upon Thursday the 17th of August, about ten in the morning, that writing was read in the presence of the King and of the Queen-mother, and of all the great men that were at court, to the Parliament that was sent for by deputies to the Palais-royal. In the afternoon the same ceremony was performed at the same place, in respect to the chamber of accounts, to the court of aids, and to the Prevost des Marchands.

Upon Friday the 18th the Prince, with a great attendance, went to the Parliament, where the chambers were assembled for the reception of a Counsellor. He told the company that he had beseeched them to do him justice with relation to the impostures made use of to disgrace him with the Queen ; that if he was guilty, he submitted to be punished ; but that if he was innocent, he asked for the punishment of his calumniators ; that being impatient to clear himself, he pressed that the company would without delay send deputies to the Duke of Orleans to invite him to come and take his seat in the Parliament. The Prince believed that the Duke would not be able to hold out against the summons of that company. But he mistook ; for Menardeau and Doujat that were immediately sent to him, brought no other answer back but only that he had been let blood, and that he did not so much as know when his health would permit him to assist at their deliberation. The Prince went to him, at his going from the Parliament. He spoke to him with a sort of respectful boldness, which however put the Duke into a fright, because he feared, above all things, to be comprehended under the character of a secret abettor of Mazarin's, in the number of those whom the Prince was exclaiming against. He gave therefore room to the Prince to hope that he would go the next day to the Parliament. I suspected it a little while after, by a word that the Duke let fall. I obliged him to alter his mind, by shewing him that after that step he must resolve to break with the Queen ; but chiefly by insinuating to him in an unaffected manner,

manner, the danger there was in exposing his person in a conjuncture when some sudden scuffle was unavoidable. This thought struck his fancy to that degree, that neither the Prince nor Chavigny, who tried by turns to persuade him, to go the next day to the Parliament, could bring him to it. It is true that about eleven at night Goulas, by over-teazing him, made him sign a writing \* wherein he declared that he had not approved of the writing against the Prince, which the Queen had caused to be read to the sovereign courts of judicature, chiefly the article by which he was taxed with holding intelligence with Spain. In this same paper the Duke cleared the Prince in some manner about the Spaniards continuing still in Stenay, and the Prince's troops having not joined the King's army. The Duke signed it, being willing to persuade himself that the doing it signified nothing, and he told the Queen the next day, that it was in some sort necessary to satisfy the Prince in a trifle, her service requiring, in the present conjuncture, that he should not altogether break with him, that he might be in a condition to undertake an accommodation whenever her Majesty thought that she should need it. The Queen, who was very well pleased with what had passed that morning [it was in the afternoon that he spoke to her] was willing to take for her good what the Duke alledged. It is certain, by what appeared to me in the evening, that the Queen did not resent what the Duke had done, and yet in my opinion she never had more reason to do it than on this occasion. But this was not the first time that I had observed how little apt one is to be angry after successful events. That which the assembly of the chambers held on Saturday the 19th of August produced, was this.

The first President having reported to the company what had passed at the Palais-royal on the 17th, and having caused the memorial which the Queen had given the deputies to be read, the Prince told the company that he had a paper signed by the Duke of Orleans that contained his justification. He spoke some other words tending to the same effect, and he said at last that he should be very much obliged to the company if they would desire the Queen to name his accusers. He then laid upon the table not only the paper signed by the Duke, but another paper, † ampler by much, and signed by himself.

\* This piece is inserted at large in the last volume.

† This paper is likewise inserted at length in the fourth volume.

himself. The contents of this last paper were a very fine answer to the Queen's memorial. The Prince, in a modest and prudent manner, took notice of the late Prince of Condé's services and of his own; he shewed that his settlements were not comparable to those of the Cardinal; he spoke of his steps against the Sub-minister, as of a very natural and necessary consequence of the removal of the Cardinal; as to the objection made to him about the retreat of the Princess his wife, and the Dutches of Longueville his sister, into Berry; he answered that this last was in the convent of the Carmelites at Bourges, † and that the first staid in the house which had been appointed for her during his imprisonment; he maintained that it was the Queen's fault that the Spaniards had not evacuated Stenay, and that the troops that went by his name, had not joined the King's army; for proof of which he alledged the Duke of Orleans's testimony; he demanded justice against his calumniators; and, as to the Queen's reproaching him that he had in some measure forced her to the change that had appeared in the council immediately after his being set at liberty, he answered that he had had no other hand in that alteration, but his opposing the proposal which the Coadjutor and Mr. de Montresor had made, to cause the people to take up arms, and to take away by force the seals from the first President.

As soon as they had made an end of reading these two papers, the Prince said that he made no doubt but that I was the author of the memorial written against him; and that it was a piece worthy of a man that had given so violent a counsel as that of causing the city to rise up in arms, in order to take away by force the seals from the man to whom the Queen had intrusted them. I answered the Prince, that I should think myself wanting to the respect I owed his Royal Highness if I spoke a single word to justify an action that had passed in his presence. The Prince replied, that messieurs de Beaufort and de la Rochefoucault, who were present, might attest the truth which he had advanced. I told him that I humbly beseeched him to give me leave, for the reasons which I have alledged, to admit no body either for a witness or a judge of my conduct, but the Duke only; but that in the mean while, I could assure the company that I had neither done nor said any thing on that occasion but what became an honest man; and above all, that no body could take away from me the honour nor the satisfaction of having ever been

† The French copy, says Bruges, which is a manifest mistake.



been accused to have broke my word. These last words were far from being discreet. It is, in my opinion, one of the most imprudent things that I was ever guilty of. The Prince, though incited by the Prince of Conti that pushed him, as every body observed, with an intent, as it is likely, to have moved his resentment, fell into no passion, which could proceed from no other cause but a greatness of soul and courage in him. Though I was accompanied that day by a great number of men, he was beyond comparison stronger than I, and it is certain that if at that instant they had come to the drawing of swords, he had had infallibly all the advantage on his side. He had discretion enough not to do it, and I had not enough to think myself obliged to him for it. Having myself set a good face on the matter, and all my friends having shewed a great boldness, I thanked nobody for the success I had but those that had assisted me, and I thought on nothing else than on the coming the next day to the Parliament in a better condition. The Queen \* was transported with joy that the Prince had met there with those that durst resist him. She was touched to the quick, with the wrong she had done me, in suspecting that I acted in concert with him. She expressed to me all that her passion could inspire her with against the Prince's party, and all that her kindness could suggest to her for one that did at least what lay in his power to break the Prince's measures. She ordered the Marechal d'Albret to have thirty gens-d'armes posted where I should desire. She gave the like order to the Marechal de Schomberg for as many light horse. Pardelle sent me the Chevalier Ravaz, Captain of the guards, who was my particular friend, with forty chosen men amongst the serjeants and the soldiers of the regiment. Annery, with the gentry of the Vexin, was not forgotten. Messieurs de Noirmoutier, de Fosseuse, de Chateaurenaut, de Montauban, de St. Auban, de Laigues, de Montaigu, d'Argenteuil, de Lamet and de Sevigny, divided amongst them the men and the posts. Guerin, Brigallier, and l'Epinary, officers of the trained-bands, gave places of rendezvous to a very great number of the best citizens, who had all pistols and

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poniards

\* The Queen, says Mr. de la Rochefoucault in his Memoirs, was very glad to see a new cause of division arise between two men whom she hated in her heart almost equally. - - - However, she gave all outward appearances of her protection to the Coadjutor.

poniards under their cloaks. Having an acquaintance with the Buvetiers, \* I got at night a great number of men that belonged to me into the Buvettes, by means of whom the Parliament-hall was in effect invested on all parts, tho' it was perceived by nobody. As I had resolved to post the main body of my friends upon the left in the hall, I had put thirty of the gentlemen of the vexin into a chamber, who in case of need were to charge the Prince's party, in flank and in rear. The presses in the Buvette of the fourth chamber of inquests that looks into the great hall were full of grenades. In short, it is certain that all my measures were so well taken both within the Parliament, and without (for the whole Pont Nôtre-Dame, and that of St. Michael, that were passionately attached to me, expected only a signal to be given them) that in all appearance I was not like to be beaten. The Duke, who quaked for fear, though very safe within his palace, was willing, according to his laudable custom, to keep fair, at all events, with both parties. He approved that Ravaz, Beloy, and Valois, who belonged to him, should follow the Prince; and that the Viscount d'Autel, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and the Marquis de Genlis, who likewise belonged to him, should come along with me; we had on both sides all Sunday to prepare ourselves.

On Monday the 21st of August all the Prince's friends met at his house at seven in the morning, and all mine at my house between five and six. There happened as I was going to take a coach a trifle, that does not otherwise deserve to be told you, but only because it is sometimes good to enliven a serious matter with something that will make one laugh. The Marquis de Rouillac, famous for his extravagancies, which were accompanied with a great deal of valour, came to offer himself to me. The Marquis de Canillac, a man of the same character, came to me almost at the same instant. As soon as he had perceived Rouillac, he made me a low bow backwards, saying, 'I was come, Sir, to offer you my services, but it is not just that the two greatest madmen in the kingdom should be of the same party: I am therefore going to hôtel de Condé.' You must observe, that in effect he went thither. I arrived at the Parliament a quarter of an hour before the Prince, who came thither accompanied by a great number of gentlemen. I believe that I had more men than he, but he had without comparison more persons of quality than I, as it was both natural and just. I would not suffer that those who were attached to the court, and that

\* Those that keep the Buvettes: see the note relating to the word Buvettes, in the first volume.

would gladly have come with me upon the Queen's account, should accompany me, for fear of their giving me some tincture, or rather some appearance of Mazarinianism; so that except three or four, who, though attached to the Queen, were known to be my particular friends, I had with me only the gentlemen that were Frondeurs, who came not near in number to those that followed the Prince. This disadvantage was in my opinion more than enough compensated, both by my power over the people, which was certainly much greater, and by the posts of which I was master. Chateau-Briant, whom we had left in the streets to observe the Prince's march, coming to me, and telling me before a great number of persons that the Prince would be at the Parliament in half a quarter of an hour; that he had at least as many men as we, but that we had taken our posts, which was of great advantage to us; I replied to him, 'There is certainly no place, except the Parliament-hall, where we could have taken our posts better than the Prince.' In saying this, I felt within me that what I spoke proceeded from the shame I had, to suffer a comparison to be made betwixt the Prince and me, which sentiment I was confirmed in by the reflections I made, and I had acted more wisely if I had preserved it longer, as you will presently see. The Prince having taken his seat, told the company that he could not enough wonder to find the Parliament-house in the condition it was in; that it appeared rather a camp than a temple of justice; that there were posts taken, persons commanded, words given for rallying, and that it was unaccountable that there could be found in the kingdom people insolent enough to pretend to vie with him in this manner. He repeated these last words twice. I made him a low bow, and said, that I begged his highness to pardon me if I told him that I believed that there was nobody in the kingdom insolent enough to dispute the upper-hand with him; but that I was persuaded that there were persons who could and ought by their dignity to yield it, in the manner he meant, only to the King. He answered me, that whether I would or no, he would make me quit the stage. I replied, that it would be no easy matter. At this a great noise arose. The young Counsellors of each side interested themselves in this contest, which, as you see, began sharply enough. The Presidents flung themselves betwixt the Prince and me. They intreated his Highness to have a regard for the temple of justice, and for the preservation of the city; they begged of him to consent that what gentry and armed men there were in the hall should go out. He approved of it, and he prayed Mr.



de la Rochefoucault to go and tell it from him to his friends. This was the term he made use of, which in his mouth was becoming and modest. Nothing but the event could prevent its being ridiculous in mine; but it is not the less so in my thoughts, and I am still sorry that it disfigured the first answer I had made the Prince about quitting him the stage, which was just and reasonable. But after he had desired Mr. de la Rochefoucault to bid his friends go out, I rose up, and said imprudently, 'I will go to desire mine likewise to retire.' Young d'Avaux, whom you see now President de Mesmes, and who was at that time in the interest of the Prince, said to me, 'You are armed then?' 'Who doubts it,' replied I; and this was a second blunder in half a quarter of an hour's time. An inferior ought never to set himself in words, upon a foot of equality with his superior, though he does it in action; neither ought an ecclesiastick to own that he is armed, even when he is. There are matters upon which it is certain that the world desires to be deceived. Actions justify men pretty often, as to their reputation with the publick, for what they do against their profession; I never saw any that justifies them for what they say against it.

As I was going out of the Grand Chamber, I met at the Usher's bar Mr. de la Rochefoucault, who was coming back. I did not reflect upon it, and I went into the hall to desire my friends to retire. After that I came back, and as I was just entering the door of the Grand Chamber, I heard a very great noise of people calling to arms in the hall. I would have turned my head to see what the matter was, but I had not time to do it, for I was caught by the neck between the two folding doors, which Mr. de la Rochefoucault had shut upon me, calling to Messieurs de Coligni and de Ricouſe to kill me. The first contented himself with not obeying him; the second told him, that he had no order from the Prince to do it. Montresor, who was within the Usher's bar, with a young man of Paris called Noblet,\* who was well affected to me, held a little one of the foldings, which however pressed me very much. Mr. de Champlastreux, whom the noise which he had heard in the hall had drawn thither, seeing me in this extremity, pushed Mr. de la Rochefoucault vigorously. He told him, that an assassination of that nature was both shameful and horrible: he opened the door and got me in. That danger was not the greatest I ran on this occasion, as you will

\* Joli says, that the Coadjutor took this Noblet out of gratitude into his family, where he continued as long as he lived.

will see after I told you the cause that gave it both a beginning and an end. Two or three bawling men of the Prince's party, and of the dregs of the people, who arrived in the hall but at the moment I was leaving it, seeing me at a distance, took a fancy to cry at me, 'A Mazarinian!' Many of the common people, and Chavignac among others, bowing to me as I passed, and expressing their joy to see that matters were growing milder, two of the Prince's guards that were likewise at a great distance, took it into their heads to draw their swords. Those that were nearest to them called to arms. Every body answered to that call, my friends as well as the rest, and by a wonder perhaps without example, all these drawn swords, these pistols, these poniards, remained useless in peoples' hands for a moment, which gave time to Crenan, who commanded the Prince of Conti's company of gens-d'armes, but who was likewise an old friend of mine, and who by good luck had there to make head against him the Marquis de Laigues, with whom he had lodged for ten years together, to say to Laigues, 'What are we about? We are going to cause the Prince and the Coadjutor to be murdered: he is a villain that does not put up his sword!' These words spoken by one of the men in the world whose reputation for bravery was the best established, caused every one without exception to follow his example. This is perhaps one of the most extraordinary events that has happened in our age. Argenteuil's courage and presence of mind is not much less extraordinary. By good luck he was very near me, when I had my neck caught between the two folding doors; and he was considerate enough to observe, that Peche, a seditious man that had made himself famous in the Prince's party, was seeking for me with a poniard in his hand, saying, 'Where is the Coadjutor?' Argenteuil, who by good luck, as I have said, was very near me at that instant, having left his post to speak to somebody he knew of the Prince's party, judged, that instead of going back to his post and drawing his sword, which any man of moderate courage would have done on that occasion, he would do better to observe and amuse Peche, who by turning to the left might easily have stuck his poniard into my back. He executed his design so dextrously, that by arguing with him and covering me with his long cloak, he saved my life, which was exposed to the more danger, in that my friends, who believed that I was got back into the grand chamber, thought of nothing else but of pushing those that stood before them. You will perhaps wonder that having used so wise precautions in all other places, I had

had not filled both the usher's bar and the lanternes with my friends. But you will cease to wonder when I have told you, that it was not for want of due consideration, nor for want of foreseeing the inconveniencies that attended the not doing so: But I could find no remedy to these inconveniencies, because the thing was impracticable, or at least would have been attended with still greater inconveniencies. Most of the gentlemen of quality that I had with me had each of them his employment, and could be spared no where else, having so many different posts which it was necessary to keep. Nothing had been more odious than the putting any body of low rank in these places, where, according to order, nobody is admitted but persons of condition. If lower sorts of people had been observed to fill up these places, to the prejudice of an infinite number of persons of quality whom the Prince had with him, those of the Parliament that kept neutral, had infallibly found fault with a sight of that nature, which might have inclined them to the other side. It was of importance to me that I should appear altogether on the defensive, and I gave to that advantage, the preference over that of a greater safety. I had liked to have paid dear for it, for besides the advantage of the door which I have mentioned, the Prince, with whom I have often spoke since of the passages of that day, told me, that he intended to have taken advantage of the tumult in the hall, and that if it had lasted but one moment longer, he would have seized me by the throat, and made me answerable for all that might have happened. It was in his power so to do, having certainly many more men in the lanternes than I had. But I am persuaded that the consequence would have been fatal to both parties, and that the Prince himself would hardly have got off safe. I return to what I was relating.

As soon as I was got safe into the grand chamber, I told the first President that I owed my life to his son, that gentleman having in reality done on that occasion what the highest generosity can perform. He was in every thing that was not opposite to the conduct and maxims of his father, attached even passionately to the Prince. He was persuaded, tho' wrongfully, that I had had a hand in the seditions that had been raised twenty times against his father, during the siege of Paris. Nothing obliged him to concern himself in the danger I was in, more than most of the gentlemen of the Parliament, who remained very quiet on their seats; and yet he interested himself in my preservation so far as to be ex-

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posed to the resentment of his own party, which was the strongest, at least in that place. There are few actions, that deserve a greater praise, and I shall as long as I live preserve a tender memory of it. I expressed my gratitude for it publicly to the first President, as I have already said; and I added that Mr. de la Rochefoucault had done all that lay in his power to get me assassinated. He answered to me these very words: 'Traitor, I care but little what becomes of thee.' To which I replied: 'Hold, friend la Franchise;' (we had given him that name among us) 'you are a coward,' (I lied, for he is certainly very brave) 'and I am a Priest, fighting is forbidden us.' Mr. de Brissac who was seated just above him, threatened to cudgel him; he threatened Mr. de Brissac to kick \* him. The Presidents, who believed rightly enough that these speeches were but the beginning of a quarrel that would not end barely in words, put themselves betwixt us. The first President, who had sent a little before for the King's council, joined himself to them, to intreat the Prince pathetically by the blood of St. Lewis, not to suffer that the temple which he had built for the preservation of peace and the protection of justice should be stained with blood; and to exhort me by the sacred character I bore not to contribute to the massacre of the people whom God had committed to my care. The Prince consented that two of the Presidents should go into the great hall and cause those of his party to go away by the stairs that belong to the holy chapel; two other Presidents did the like in respect to my friends, who went away by the great stairs which are on the left as you go out of the hall. The clock struck ten; the company rose up; and in this manner ended that morning, in which Paris was like to have been destroyed.

Methinks I hear you ask what part Mr. de Beaufort was acting in this last scene, wondering that after the figure that you have seen him make in the first, he should in some sort be confounded among the crowd of mute actors. What I shall answer will be a confirmation to you of what I have already observed more than once in these memoirs, which is, that it is impossible to please any body if you aim at pleasing every body. Mr. de Beaufort fancied to himself, or rather Madam de Montbazon put it into his fancy after he had broke with me, that he ought to keep fair as he might do, with the Prince and with the Queen; and he even affected so much the appearance of that medium that that made him affect to come

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\* *The French says, to prick him with his spurs.*

all alone to these two last assemblies of the Parliament of which I have spoken. Nay, he said aloud at the last assembly of all, with the tone of a Cato that little became him: 'As for me I am but a private man that meddles with nothing.' At this I turned to Mr. de Brissac, saying: 'It must be owned that Mr. d'Angoulême and Mr. de Beaufort are in the right as to their conduct.' I spoke not these words so low, but that the Prince heard them and smiled at them. You must observe that Mr. d'Angoulême was above ninety years old and bed-ridden.\* I mention this trifle, only because it shews that every man who by the help of fortune alone is become the favourite of the people, seldom fails to become in a little time ridiculous in his private capacity. There is no return for him after that; and all the bravery that Mr. de Beaufort shewed in more than one occasion after the return of the Cardinal, against whom he declared without the least hesitation, could not raise him up after his fall. But it is time to resume the thread of my narration.

You may easily conceive the emotion in which Paris was during that morning which I have described. Most of the tradesmen kept their muskets by them whilst they were at work in their shops. The women were in the churches at their prayers; but what is likewise true, is, that they were struck there with a greater fear in the afternoon of the danger which they expected, than they had been in the morning of that to which they were actually exposed. An universal melancholy appeared in the countenance of all those that were not entirely attached to the two parties. The minds of people, which were no longer diverted by the movements they were in before, gave now room even to those that had been the most active, to reflect upon what had past. The Prince said to the Count de Fiesque, at least as this last related it publicly that night: 'Paris has this day been near to have been burnt to ashes; what a bonfire for Mazarin! and it is the two greatest enemies he has, that have been upon the point of lighting that fire.' I was considering on my side that I was upon the brink of the worst and most dangerous precipice that ever threatened a private man. The best that could happen to me was to get the better of the Prince, and that best, if he had been murdered, would have served only to make me pass for the murderer of the first Prince of the blood,

\* I find in the French copy a note which says that the Cardinal de Retz was mistaken, for that Mr. d'Angoulême was dead at that time.

blood, to be infallibly disowned by the Queen, and to give all the fruit of my labour and dangers to the Cardinal by the event, which never fails to turn, in favour of the royal authority, all disorders that pass to the last excess. This is what my friends, at least the wisest of them, were representing to me. This is what I was representing to myself. But what means, what remedy, what expedient had I in hand, to get out of an affair in which I was in the right at first to have engaged, and which by reason of that engagement, I was the more obliged to pursue? Providence was pleased to find out a remedy. The Duke overcome by the cries of the Parisians, whose fears made them run to the palace of Orleans, but more alarmed still by his own fear, which made him believe that so general a commotion as that which had like to have happened, would not stop at the Parliament if it was renewed, engaged the Prince to promise him to go thither the next day, accompanied only with five others, provided I would engage to have but the like number with me. I begged the Duke to forgive me if I should be wanting to the respect which I owed the Prince, with whom I well knew that I ought not to enter into comparison; and because I found no manner of safety in it for me by reason of so many seditious persons who were bawling at me, and who kept within no bounds, having no chief to govern them; that it was only against these sort of men that I was armed; that I was not unmindful of the respect which I owed the Prince: that there was so little competition between such a one as I and his Highness, that five hundred men were less to him than a footman was to me. The Duke, who found that I came not into his proposal, and to whom Madam de Chevreuse had sent word by Ornano, who by the Duke's order had been to persuade that lady about it, that I was in the right not to come over to it; the Duke, I say, went to the Queen to represent to her the great inconveniencies which the continuance of this conduct would infallibly produce. The Queen, who naturally feared nothing and foresaw but little, made no manner of account of his Royal Highness's remonstrances, and so much the less, because she would have been overjoyed at the bottom to see matters pushed on to extremes, which she thought not only possible, but near at hand. But when the Chancellor, who spoke to her with vigour, and when the Berthers and the Brachets who were hid in the garrets of the Palais-Royal, and who were overwhelmed with grief, fearing to be murdered in the general commotion; had convinced her, that the death of the Prince and mine, happening in a conjuncture like



this, would throw things into such a confusion, that the name of Mazarin only might prove fatal to the whole royal family, she yielded at last, though rather to their tears than to their reasons, and she consented to send both the Prince and me an order of the King's to forbid us to go to the Parliament. The first President, who was sure that the Prince would refuse to obey that order, which indeed could not justly have been enjoined him, his presence being required at the Parliament, went to the Queen with the President de Nesmond. He represented to her Majesty that the forbidding the Prince to assist at an assembly where he went with no other purpose than to clear himself of the crime laid to his charge, would be against all manner of justice. He shewed her the difference which she ought to make betwixt a Prince of the blood whose presence in the Parliament was necessary in this conjuncture, and a Coadjutor of Paris who was suffered to sit there only by the courtesy of the Parliament, which was indeed commonly granted. He added that her Majesty ought to consider, that nothing could oblige him to speak to her in this manner but the force of his duty, because he would ingenuously own to her that the manner in which I had received the small service which his son had endeavoured to render me (that was his expression) had so sensibly touched him, that it was not without an extreme constraint upon himself that he was forced to address to her upon a point, which perhaps would be displeasing to me. The Queen yielded to his reasons, and to the instances of all the ladies at court, who, the one for one reason and the other for another, were afraid of the next day's bustle, which was almost inevitable. She sent me Mr. de Charost, Captain of the guards in waiting, to forbid me in the King's name to go the next day to the Parliament. The first President, whom I had been to see and to thank in the morning as soon as the Parliament was up, came to visit me just at the time that Mr. de Charost was leaving my house. He gave me a very frank account of the whole discourse he had had with the Queen. I valued him for it, because he was in the right, but I told him besides that I was very glad of it, because it got me honourably off of a very ill step. 'It is very wise in you,' said he, 'to think so; but it is still more gallant to tell it me.' He embraced me tenderly in saying this: we became friends, and I shall express that friendship to his family so long as I live, in a tender and grateful manner.

The next day, Tuesday the 22d of August, the Parliament assembled. Two companies of the militia were ordered

to guard it at all events by reason of some remains of commotion that appeared still in the town. The Prince staid in the fourth chamber of Inquells, because the forms required that he should not assist at a deliberation wherein he asked either to clear himself, or to be prosecuted. Many different advices were opened; that of the first President carried it, which was, that all the writings, as well those of the Queen, as those of the Duke of Orleans and of the Prince, should be carried to the King and to the Queen; and that most humble remonstrances should be made to their Majesties upon the importance of all those writings; that the Queen should be intreated to cause that affair to be stifled; and that the Duke of Orleans should be desired to negotiate an accommodation.

As the Prince was coming from the Parliament, followed by a crowd of people of those that were in his party, I met him in his coach; face to face, pretty near the Franciscan Friars, as I was leading the procession of the great fraternity. The procession having thirty or forty of the curates of Paris at their head, and being always attended with a great number of people, I thought that I should have no need of the guard that commonly accompanied me, and I had even affected to have near me but five or six gentlemen, who were Messieurs de Fosseuse, de Lamet, de Querieux, de Chateaubriant, with the Chevaliers d'Humieres and de Seigné. Three or four of the mob that followed the Prince, cried as they perceived me, 'a Mazarinian!' The Prince, who, as I think, had in his coach with him Messieurs de la Rochefoucault, de Rohan, and de Goncourt, got out of it as soon as he had seen me.\* He commanded silence to those who had begun to bawl out; he knelt down to receive my blessing, which I gave him with my cap upon my head; but I pulled it off immediately after, and made him a very low bow. This adventure, as you see, was pleasant enough. I will tell you

\* *Mr. de la Rochefoucault says that the people gave the Coadjutor very ill language, and were preparing to tear him in pieces, if the Prince had not caused those he had with him to come down and to appease that tumult. What inclines me to believe that the fact is not true, is, that Joli, who never misses an opportunity of saying all the ill he can of the Coadjutor, mentions nothing of it, and agrees with the Coadjutor in his relation, except about the Prince's coming out of his coach; his Highness, according to his account, kneeling, only in the boat of it.*

you another which by the event proved otherwise; and it is in my opinion what has cost me my fortune, and has been like several times to have cost me my life.

The Queen was so much transported with joy at the obstacles which the Prince met in his designs, and she was so much pleased with my honest proceeding, that I may truly say that I was for some days in favour. She could not express enough her mind, to those that came near her, how well satisfied she was with me. The Princess Palatine was persuaded that she spoke from her heart. Madam de Lesdiguières told me that Madam de Beauvais, who was a pretty good friend of hers, had assured her that I had gained ground in her mind. What persuaded me of it beyond the rest, was, that the Queen, who could not have borne before, any jest that reflected upon Mazarin, rallied with me very sincerely about a saying of mine relating to him. Berthet had told me some days before, I do not remember on what occasion, that the poor Cardinal was sometimes put very hard to it; to which I answered him: 'Give me the King of my side for two days together, and you shall see whether I shall be hard put to it.' He had found something pleasant in my answer, and being himself a pleasant fellow, he could not help telling it the Queen. She was not angry, but rather laughed heartily at it; and that circumstance, upon which Madam de Chevreuse, who knew the Queen perfectly well, made many reflections, added to a word that was reported to her by Madam de Lesdiguières, brought a thought into her head which I shall impart to you, after I have told you what that word was.

Madam de Carignan was saying one day in the Queen's presence that I was very ugly; and that, perhaps, was the only time in her whole life that she had not told a lie. The Queen answered: 'He has fine teeth, with which a man is never ugly.' Madam de Chevreuse having this from Madam de Lesdiguières, to whom Madam de Niel had told it, remembered that she had heard the Queen say on many occasions, that beauty in men consisted only in having fine teeth, because in that consisted the goodness of them. Let us try, said Madam de Chevreuse to me one evening that I was walking with her in the Hôtel de Chevreuse; if you are willing to act your part well, I do not despair of success in this. Appear only very pensive when you are with the Queen; be looking continually upon her hands; rail at the Cardinal; and leave the rest to me. We concerted every particular, and we played each of us our part exactly as we had concerted it. I asked for three or four audiences of the Queen, one after another, upon frivolous



volous pretences. I spoke in these audiences but just enough to put the Queen upon thinking what was my reason for demanding them. I followed in every point Madam de Chevreuse's advice. I carried my disquiet and my railing at the Cardinal even to extravagancy. The Queen, who was naturally a great coquet, understood these airs. She spoke of it to Madam de Chevreuse, who appeared full of surprize and of wonder, but no more than what was just necessary to compass her design the better, which she did by feigning to call back to her memory many things which she would never have remembered if the Queen's discourse, as she said, had not given occasion to it, and which related to what she had observed at her coming back from Brussels to Paris, of my transports of anger against the Cardinal. 'Really, Madam,' said she to the Queen, 'your Majesty brings to my mind some circumstances which agree well enough with what you tell me. The Coadjutor spent whole days in speaking to me of all your Majesty's past life with a curiosity that surprized me, because he entered into a thousand particulars that had no relation to the present times. These conversations were the agreeablest in the world so long as they related only to your Majesty's person, but he ceased to be the same man, if by chance the Cardinal's name was mentioned, speaking then even in bitter terms of your Majesty. Indeed that lasted not long, for he immediately sweetened his discourse in respect to you, but never in respect to the Cardinal. But now I think on it, I must recal to my memory the rage he was one day possessed with against Buckingham. - - - But I cannot remember it precisely. He could not bear to hear me say that that gentleman was a very gallant man. What has always hindered me from reflecting upon a thousand things of this nature, which offer themselves now fully to my view, is, the attachment he has for my daughter. Not that this attachment is at the bottom so great as it is imagined. I wish that the poor creature was not more attached to him than he is to her. But when all is done, Madam, I cannot imagine that the Coadjutor can be mad enough to put such a whim into his head.'

This is one of Madam de Chevreuse's conversations with the Queen. She had twenty or thirty others with her of the same nature, wherein it happened at last that the Queen thought that she had persuaded that lady, that I was really mad enough to have put that whim into my thoughts, and wherein Madam de Chevreuse in her turn, persuaded the Queen that I had really embraced that fancy in a much stronger

stronger manner than she herself had thought: in the mean while I was not forgetting myself; I acted my part well; in my conversations with the Queen I sometimes passed from pensiveness to extravagance, and coming to myself only by fits, at the same time that I preserved a profound respect for her Majesty, I always expressed a sourness, and sometimes a violent passion against the Cardinal. I did not perceive that my affairs went the worse for it at court; but Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, whom her mother had thought fit to acquaint with my conduct, and to bring her to consent to it for the reason which you will hereafter see, was pleased to spoil our measures two months after, by the greatest and most signal imprudence that ever was committed. I will give you the particulars of it, after I have satisfied myself in respect to an omission in these memoirs, for which I have been for a pretty long while reproaching myself.

The whole contents almost of what I have been writing are nothing but a connection of passages that relate to the Queen's attachment for Cardinal Mazarin. It seems to me for that reason, that I should have long before explained to you the nature of that attachment. But I believe that you will be better able to enter into that matter, if I mention to you first of all some passages relating to the first years of the Queen, which I look upon to be as clear and as certain as those which I have myself seen, having had them from Madam de Chevreuse, who was the only and true confidant of her younger years.\* She has often told me that the Queen had nothing of the Spaniard in her, in respect either of her mind or of her body; that she had neither the temper nor the vivacity of that nation, but had got only its coquetry, which indeed she had to a sovereign degree; that the Duke de Bellegarde, an old man, but polite and gallant, after the manner of the court of Henry the Third, had pleased her, but that she grew disgusted at him, because taking one day his leave of her when he went to command the army at Rochel, and having asked leave in general to hope that she would grant him some favour before he left the court, he had confined himself to the requesting her that she would lay her hand

\* All that is said here relating to the first years of the Queen is confirmed by Madam de Motteville in her Memoirs, which give an account of some particulars concerning the Queen and the Duke of Buckingham, which will be mentioned in the fourth volume.

hand upon the hilt of his sword; that she had found something so foolish in that manner of courtship, that she could never forgive him since; that she had approved of the gallantry of Mr. de Montmorenci much more than she had loved his person; that her aversion for the manners of Cardinal Richlieu, who was as great a pedant in love affairs as he was a gentleman in other matters, was the cause that she could never suffer his courtship. † - - - Madam de Chevreuse added, that she had perceived from the beginning of the regency a great inclination in the Queen for Cardinal Mazarin, but that she could not find out how far that inclination had carried her; that she had indeed been forced to leave the court so soon after the Regency, that she had not had time to see clearly into it, supposing that any thing material had passed; that at her return into France after the siege of Paris, the Queen had at first kept herself so reserved with her, that it had been impossible for her to penetrate into it: that since the Queen had used her with more familiarity, she had at some instances observed certain airs in her that resembled much those that she used formerly to give herself with Buckingham: that in others she had taken notice of some circumstances which made her judge that there was between them only an intimate union of minds: that one of these circumstances which she looked upon to be the most considerable, was, the manner in which the Cardinal lived with her, that had more of roughness than of gallantry; which, however, added she, may carry two faces, considering the humour that I know the Queen to be of. Buckingham, continued she, was formerly telling me that he had loved three Queens, and that he had been obliged to box them all three; which is the reason that I cannot judge rightly of the matter. In this manner did Madam de Chevreuse speak to me. I return to my narration.

I was not well enough pleased with the figure I made against the Prince, though I thought myself very much honoured by it, not to perceive in all its extent the danger with which the post I was in was invironed. 'Whither are we going,' said I one day to Mr. de Bellievre, who seemed to me too much pleased that the Prince had not crushed me; 'and for whom are we labouring? I know that we are obliged to act as we do; I know that we cannot do better. But ought we to rejoice

† *There is here half a page wanting.*



rejoice that we are necessitated to act in this manner, because it is the best, when it is impossible but that we must in a little time fall into the worst?' 'I understand you,' replied the President, 'but at the same time I must stop you, to tell you what I have learnt from Cromwell,' (Mr. de Bellievre had seen him and had been acquainted with him in England.)\* 'He was one day telling me that men never mounted so high as when they did not know whither they went.' 'You know,' replied I, 'that I abominate Cromwell; but as great a man as he is represented to be, I will do more; I will condemn him, if he holds these notions, which can proceed from none but a madman.' I have been relating this dialogue, which in itself signifies nothing, only to let you see of what consequence it is never to speak ill of persons in great posts. The President de Bellievre returning after this into his closet, where many persons waited for him, reported what I had said, as a proof of the wrong done me by those who pretended that my ambition was without measure or bounds. This saying of mine came to the Protector's ears, who remembered it with animosity on an occasion of which I shall speak hereafter, and who said to Mr. de Bourdeaux, our Ambassador in England: 'I know but one man in the world that condemns me, which is the Cardinal de Retz.' That opinion of his had like to have cost me dear. I come again to my narration.

The Duke, who was very glad to have got off so cheap out of the straits which I have mentioned, applied his thoughts wholly to the avoiding the like for the future. To that purpose he went on the 26th to Limours, to shew the Queen, as he said, that he did not enter into any one of the Prince's measures.

Upon Monday the 28th, and on the next day, the Prince used his utmost efforts at the Parliament, to oblige the company to press the Queen, either to clear him, or to prove the charge set forth in the writing which she had sent against him. But the first President stood firm in not suffering any deliberation till the Duke of Orleans was returned; and being persuaded that his Royal Highness did not intend to come back so soon, he consented that he should be desired by the company to come to the Parliament. The Prince went himself to the Duke on the 29th, accompanied by Mr. de Beaufort, to press his coming. He lost his labour, and Joui came to me at midnight

\* He was sent Ambassador to England during the civil war.

night from the Duke, to tell me what had passed in their conversation, and to order me to give the Queen an account of it the next day.

On that day, which was the 30th, the Prince came to the parliament, where he had the pleasure to see Mr. de Vendôme act one of the most ridiculous parts that can be imagined. He required that they would enter into their registers the protestation he made, that since the year 1648 he had not heard one word of his son's courting Mademoiselle de Mancini, and you may well think that nobody believed him. The Prince, after this, having asked the first President if the Queen had given any answer to the remonstrances made to her upon his account, the King's council were sent for, who said that she had put off answering till the Duke of Orleans's return, that Prince continuing at Limours. The Prince of Condé complained of this delay as of a denial of justice. Upon this a great clamour arose, and the first President was obliged, after a long resistance, to report what had passed at the Palais-Royal on the Saturday before, which was the day that he had made the remonstrances. He had pushed it on with a great deal of vigour, and had omitted nothing to let the Queen see and feel the advantage and even the necessity of reuniting the royal family. He ended his report by telling the company that the Queen had put him off, as she had done the King's council, till the Duke of Orleans's return.

The President de Mesmes, who was gone to Limours by order of the company to invite the Duke to come and take his seat at the parliament, had brought but a very dubious answer. But the greatest proof of the Duke's not coming was, that Mr. de Beaufort, who had been at Limours the day before with the Prince, said, that the Duke had commanded him to desire the company in his name, not to stay for him as they had resolved, to finish their declaration against Cardinal Mazarin.

On the 31st the Prince came again to the parliament, continuing to complain very much that the Queen had not given any answer yet to the remonstrance. The truth is, that she had only caused the Chancellor to tell the King's council that she expected Mr. de Brienne back from Limours, where she had sent him at five that morning. You fancy, I suppose, that the sending Mr. de Brienne thither, was to thank the Duke for the firmness he had shewn in not coming to the parliament, and to confirm him in it. You will have the greater reason to think so, when I have told you that the Queen had the day before commanded me to write to the Duke

Duke in her name, that she was touched with a sense of gratitude (she used that word) which she should preserve all her life long, for his having resisted the last instances of the Prince. The night altered these dispositions, or rather the moment of the night in which Metayer, Valet de Chambre to the Cardinal, arrived with a dispatch, which among other things, had in it the following words, as I have since been told by the Marechal de Pleffis, who assured me that he had seen them in the original letter: 'Give the Prince, Madam, all the declarations of innocence that he demands: All is good if you can but amuse him, and prevent his soaring too high.' What is surprizing is, that the Queen had herself told me three days before, that she could heartily have wished that the Prince was got into Guienne; provided, added she, that people would not think that it is I that have pushed him to it. This point of history is one of those which has obliged me to say on another occasion, that there are points inexplicable in histories, and impenetrable even to those that are the nearest to them: I remember that at that time, the Princess Palatine and I did what we could to find out the cause of so sudden an alteration; that we guessed that it was the effect of some secret negociation; and that afterwards we thought ourselves fully convinced that we had guessed wrong. What confirmed us in that opinion, was, that upon the first of September the Queen having sent for the parliament, caused the Chancellor to tell them in her presence, that the advices which had been given her of the intelligence that the Prince held with the Spaniards, having not been followed with any effects, her Majesty was willing to believe that they were not true; and that upon the 4th the Prince declared in a full assembly of the chambers, that what the Chancellor had said in the Queen's name, was not a sufficient justification for him, because it intimated, that he might have appeared criminal if the first charge against him had been immediately pursued. He insisted upon having an arrest in due form, and he enlarged upon it with so much heat, that it clearly appeared by it that this last step of the Queen's was not concerted with him. However, this step being likewise taken without any concert with the Duke, it worked the same effect upon his mind as if there had been a real accommodation between the Prince and the court. He returned again to his suspicions, which he shewed by telling Daujat and Menardeau, who had been sent to him on the 4 of this month by the parliament, to intreat him to come and take his seat there, that he would not fail to do it, in which he was as good as



his word. He was the whole evening long of the 3d of September, maintaining to me that so sudden an alteration in the Queen could have no other cause than a secret negotiation, and though the Queen swore to him the contrary, he believed that she deceived him. Consequently upon the 4th he countenanced with so much heat the proposal which the Prince made, that there were but three voices in the company that were against making most humble remonstrances to the Queen, that she would issue out a declaration of the Prince's innocence in due form, that might be registered before the King's being of age. You must observe that his Majesty was to be declared of age upon the 7th. The first President having said in his advice that it was just to grant the Prince that declaration, but that it was likewise requisite that he should first pay his duty to the King, he was interrupted by a great many confused voices that asked for the declaration against Cardinal Mazarin.

These two declarations were brought to the parliament upon the 5th, with a third for the continuance of the Parliament, upon account only of publick affairs.

Upon the 6th, that which concerned the Cardinal, and the other for the continuance of the parliament, were publickly read in court. That which related to the Prince's innocence, was put off till the next day, when the King was to be declared of age, under pretence of rendering it more solemn and authentick by the King's presence; but in reality to gain time, and to see what the lustre of the royal Majesty, which the court had projected to display in all its pomp, might produce upon the minds of the people. What makes me believe it, is, that Servien said two days after to a credible man, of whom I learnt it, but not till ten years after, that if the court had made a right use of that instant, they had crushed the Prince, and the Frondeurs too. That notion was ridiculous, and those that were well acquainted with Paris, would not certainly have been of his opinion.

The Prince, who did not trust the court more than he did the Frondeurs, had indeed some ground for his diffidence. He declined being present at the ceremony, sending thither only the Prince of Conti, with a letter to the King, whereby he intreated his Majesty to excuse his not appearing; that the calumnies of his enemies and their designs against him, suffered him not to go to the parliament; to which he added, that the respect he had for his Majesty was however the only motive that prevented his going. These last words, which seemed to signify that if it had not been for that motive he might

might have gone safely thither, exasperated the Queen beyond whatever I had hitherto seen, and she said to me that evening these very words: 'Either the Prince or I shall perish.' I was not bribed to soften her on this occasion. As I was however representing to her, purely out of a principle of honour, that the words of the Prince might have another meaning more innocent, as indeed it was true, she said to me in an angry tone: 'This is a false generosity, which I hate.' What is certain, is, that the Prince's letter to the King was extremely prudent and well measured.

The Prince, after having taken a journey to Trie, was come back to Chantilly. He learnt there that the Queen had declared the new ministers upon the 7th, which was the day of the King's being of age; and what determined him altogether to remove still further from court, was, the advice he received at that same moment from Chavigny, that the Duke could not help saying, with a smile, on occasion of this new establishment: 'This will last longer than that of Maundy-thursday.' The Prince however writing to the Duke to complain of it, and to acquaint him with the reasons he had for leaving the court, thought fit very wisely to suppose that the Duke was concerned in the offence equally with him. The Duke, who at the bottom was extremely glad to see the Prince resolved upon removing still further, was very near as glad to have some ground to persuade himself (at least as he was willing to think) that the Prince was satisfied with him, and was consequently the dupe of his acting in concert with the Queen about establishing a new ministry. He thought that for that reason he might at all events easily hold an intelligence with him, and the foible he had of keeping well always with both sides, carried him, even quicker and further, than he was used; for he was so very hasty to express his friendship for the Prince at the time of his going, that he almost ceased to preserve any measures with the Queen, and that he did not so much as take care to explain to her the secret reason of what he outwardly did to prevent the Prince's removing himself further from court. He dispatched a gentleman to desire the Prince that he would stay for him at Angerville, but at the same time he ordered that gentleman not to arrive at Angerville till he was sure that the Prince was gone from thence. By this he thought he did enough to persuade the Prince that it was not his fault that he remained not at court, but he kept this poor shift of his hid from the Queen, because he mistrusted her. The Queen, who was informed of the sending of the gentleman, but who knew nothing of his  
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secret orders, judged that it was not for want of endeavours in the Duke if he had not persuaded the Prince to stay. She took umbrage at it and spoke to me about it. I told her frankly what I knew of it, which was the truth of the thing, though the Duke had made it as unintelligible to me, as ever he could. The Queen did not believe that I deceived her in the account I gave her, but she fancied that I was myself deceived, and that Chavigny had made himself master of the Duke to my prejudice. That opinion was without ground; the Duke hated Chavigny more than he did the devil; and the only motive of his whole conduct was his fear, which made him always look out for means of safety which were even ridiculous, in the regard he shewed for both parties. But before I go on further into the particulars of this narration, I think it is requisite that I should give you an account of some pretty curious circumstances that relate to Mr. de Chavigny, whom you have already seen, and will still continue to see, for some time at least, upon the stage.

I have, I believe, already told you that the Duke had been upon the point of asking the Queen for his removal, presently after the change that was made on Maundy-thursday, and that the Duke altered his mind, only upon my representing to him that it was his interest to leave in the council a man who was as fit as he was, to stir and keep alive the divisions and the distrust betwixt those, with whose conduct his Royal Highness was dissatisfied. The event proved that I was right in my views; Chavigny's attachment to the Prince was of great help to render all the measures of the Prince's party suspicious to the Queen, because she could not but know the inveterate hatred which Chavigny bore to the Cardinal. She knew for certain that Chavigny had been the principal instigator of the expulsion of the three Sub-ministers. The resentment she preserved for it obliged her to command him three or four days after his being removed from his place in the council, to retire into Touraine where he had a seat. He excused his not going, under pretence of his mother's illness; he forbore going by the authority of the Prince. After the Prince's authority ceased to be great enough to protect him in Paris, the Queen took pleasure to see him there without any employment, and she said to me, speaking with an incredible animosity against him: 'I shall have the pleasure to see him walk the streets as a lackey.' Accordingly she got the Marechal de Villeroy to tell him the very day that the new Ministers were named, that he might stay at Paris. He excused himself from it under pretence of his domestick affairs. He retired into Touraine, but



but could not stay there. During the King's absence he came back to Paris, where you shall see him in the sequel of these memoirs, act a melancholy and an uneasy part, which at last cost him both his honour and his life. Mr. de la Rochefoucault has said very wisely, that there is nothing so necessary as to know how to bear tedious moments.

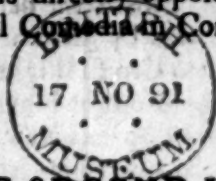
Before I return to my narration I must make another digression about what passed at that time between the Prince and Mr. de Turenne. Immediately after the Prince's leaving Paris and his going to St. Maur, Messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne waited upon his Highness there, offering him their service publickly, and in the same manner with those that seemed the most deeply engaged with him. The Prince has himself told me since, that the day before he left St. Maur to go to Trie, after which he returned no more to court, Mr. de Turenne was still so positive in promising to serve him, that he had even accepted of a writing signed with his own hand, whereby the Prince ordered la Moussaye, who commanded for him in Stenay, to put that place into Mr. de Turenne's hands; and that the first news he heard of him afterwards, was that he was going to command the King's army. I must desire you to observe that of all the men whom I have known, the Prince was the least capable of a premediated imposture. I never durst bring Mr. de Turenne to explain me this article to the bottom; but what I could indirectly draw out of him is, that as soon as the Prince was set at liberty, he had all imaginable reasons to be ill pleased with his manner of proceeding in respect to him: that he preferred before him, in every thing and all manner of ways, Mr. de Nemours, who came not nigh to him in merit, and who besides had not rendered him near so many services, for which reason he thought himself free from his first engagements to him. I must likewise desire you to observe that I never knew any body less capable of a base thing than Mr. de Turenne. Let us therefore once more acknowledge that there are points in history inconceivable even to those that have been nearest to the facts. I now reassume my narration.

The Prince having staid but a day or two at Angerville, went towards Bourges, which was in effect the road to Bourdeaux; and the Queen who would have been glad, if she had followed her inclination, to have the Prince far off from court, but who had received contrary directions from Breull, durst not oppose too much the Duke's advice, who being excited by Chavigny's counsels, and being besides persuaded that  
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the court continued still some secret negotiations with the Prince, feigned at all events, a great eagerness to prevent the Prince's leaving the court. What confirmed him fully in that conduct, was an overture which at that time was attributed to Mr. le Tellier, at least by the common report, which made the Duke believe that he was playing a sure game, and that the eagerness he shewed to have his cousin recalled to court, would go no further than in keeping him quiet in his government, which would turn all manner of ways to the Duke's account, as he pretended. That overture was, that the court should offer the Prince to remain quiet in his government, till the general estates of the kingdom should be assembled. That proposal was one of those things of which I believe I have spoken before, that are not to be understood, because it is impossible to conceive what has given them being. It is certain that that overture came from the court, either by the means of Mr. le Tellier or of some other; and it is no less certain that there was nothing in the world more contrary to the true interest of the court, because that imaginary quiet of the Prince gave him room to keep, strengthen, and increase his troops, which by the same overture were to pass their winter quarters there. The Duke received it with a joy that surprized me to the last degree, having heard him say above a thousand times, that knowing as he did the Cardinal to be of a humour that inclined him to all manner of negotiations, he thought that there was nothing more against his interest than parleys between the Prince and the court. But upon this ground could any thing have been contrived more prejudicial to the Duke, than this overture? What is wonderful is, that what was certainly pernicious both to the court and to the Duke, was rejected by the Prince, who was carried on by his fate to prefer to his inclination and his views, the caprice of his friends and dependants. I know nothing of this particular, but what Croissi, who was sent by the Duke to Bourges, has since related to me at Rome; but I am persuaded that he has told me the truth, having no interest to disguise it from me. This is the detail he gave me of it.

The Prince, who was by inclination very averse to a civil war, appeared at first to Croissi mighty well disposed to receive the proposals which he brought him from the Duke, to which he was the more willing to hearken, because they left him, at least for a long while, at liberty to chuse what means he pleased among those which he might follow. It is very difficult to resolve upon rejecting proposals of this nature, chiefly when they are made just at a time when you are pressed to resolve on  
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a thing that goes against your inclination. I have already told you that the Prince was not inclined to a civil war, neither had those whom he had near him any great inclination to it if they could have agreed together upon the articles of his accommodation. But they were all for having it done their own way that they might find their private advantages in it, which it was not in their power to do, because there was none that had credit enough with him to exclude the rest from a negotiation. They all resolved therefore upon war, and that general disposition being added to the interest that Madam de Longueville found in not being near her husband, formed an invincible obstacle to an accommodation. They know but little what a party is, that imagine that the head of it is master. His real service is almost always opposed by the pretended interest of the subalterns, which is pretty often but chimerical; and what is still worse, is, that his regard for others, and almost always his prudence, forces him to join with them against himself. Croissi has several times told me that the revolt and the passion of the Prince's friends carried them so far on this occasion as to make a treaty among themselves at Montrond, whither the Prince was gone to see Madam de Longueville, whereby they engaged to abandon him and to form another party of which the Prince of Conti was to be the head, in case that the Prince should come to an accommodation with the court, upon the terms that the Duke of Orleans had sent Croissi to propose to him. I could however have hardly believed what Croissi said, though he swore to the truth of it, considering the weakness and the ridicule of that fanatical faction, if what I had seen immediately after the setting the Princes at liberty, had not furnished me with an example very like this. For in speaking of that time I have forgot to tell you that Madam de Longueville, five or six days after her being come back from Stenay, asked me in the presence of Mr. de la Rochefoucault, if in case of a rupture between the two brothers I would not declare for the Prince of Conti? A subdivision is the ruin of almost all parties, chiefly when it is introduced by that sort of cunning, which is directly opposed to prudence, and it is what the Italians call *Comedia in Comedia*.



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